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1953-1954

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THE HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA¹

M. H. LONG

President, Canadian Historical Association

A GLANCE through the Annual Reports of the Canadian Historical Association will reveal that in their presidential papers former presidents have as a rule addressed themselves to topics which embodied the results of research in fields in which they were interested, or considered technical problems of the historian, or involved philosophical or semi-philosophical reflection on history or aspects of it. My subject tonight, I fear, is of a different order. It is necessarily factual and narrative and, with the aid of lantern slides, visual in character. It neither plumbs the depths of research nor soars to philosophical heights. Perhaps, therefore, its selection deserves a word of explanation.

The immediate reason for the choice of subject is the attention which the Massey Commission directed to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. As was its duty, it examined the work and organization of the Board and made various suggestions for their improvement. Among these was a recommendation that the Canadian Historical Association should have direct representation on the Board, a proposal which the Board itself considered unwise and to which the Government did not accede. This aroused, or deepened, a critical spirit towards the Board among some members of the Association, and this has caused a general discussion of the relationship of the two bodies to be arranged for the concluding meeting of the Association on Saturday morning at 10.30 o'clock. It seemed to me that, as I happened to be a member of the Board as well as President this year of the Association, a useful purpose would be served if I should try to lay a foundation for the proposed discussion by devoting this paper to a survey of the Board and its work. The paper is meant to be informative and objective. With Saturday morning in mind it may, perhaps, present some analogy to the calm which is said to precede the storm.

However, though this topic may have an *ad hoc* justification for members of the Canadian Historical Association, it seems to me that it is appropriate on the much wider and deeper basis of the common citizenship of all those here present. In a democracy the preservation and marking of historic sites and structures and the commemoration of significant people and events is, or should be, a matter of concern and pride to all citizens. As citizens, also, everyone has a right to be informed regarding the organization and conduct of a public body such as the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. They have a right to criticize, to make suggestions, and to share in the ultimate control over it. From this standpoint of a common citizenship I hope that the material which follows will be of interest, not only to historians, but also to members of the Canadian Political Science Association and the general public here tonight.

¹ When delivered before the Association this paper was illustrated by the projection of some 150 illustrations. The cost of reproducing the illustrations has proven to be prohibitive. The proper names which are capitalized in this paper, indicate the titles of slides which were shown.

In one of his great periods Joseph Howe declared that "A wise nation preserves its records . . . gathers up its muniments . . . decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead . . . repairs its great public structures and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past". In Canada, as in other countries, this great work has been no monopoly of any organ of government, and it is to be hoped that it will never become so. Individuals, families, fraternal societies, Canadian Clubs, municipalities, churches, Provincial and Dominion Governments themselves in occasional specific instances, have all long participated in it. Many of our finest monuments date from this earlier time of wholly spontaneous action before any national governmental body had been appointed for systematic operation in this field. Some of these earlier monuments will be familiar to most members of this audience.²

Members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board would be the last to minimize achievements such as these of an earlier period or those, not its own, of a later time. However, I think it may be said that the creation of the Board in 1919 did constitute something of a landmark. For the first time in Canada there was now in existence an official body designed for continuous study and action in this field on a national scale and limited only by the funds which the federal government might make available for its work. It was one of many signs that as the twentieth century advanced Canada was maturing into nationhood.

Usually Governments are impelled to action by public pressure of some kind, and the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board was no exception to this rule. The Canadian people had been growingly conscious of their splendid past and during the dozen years between the Quebec Tercentenary of 1908 and the creation of the Board representations had multiplied to the Dominion Government to support, or itself to carry out, action to preserve and suitably mark various features of our historic heritage.

Probably the most influential of all these representations had come from a body called the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada. Created on May 15th, 1907, by Section II of The Royal Society of Canada, its immediate object was to aid in the preparations for the Quebec Tercentenary, but beyond that its general purpose was, as its title indicates, the preservation and marking of historic land-

² Examples are: the Memorial Tower in Halifax, dedicated in 1912 by the Duke of Connaught and commemorating the first Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, which was also the first Parliament in Canada; the monument to Champlain, "the father of Canada", on Dufferin Terrace in Quebec City which he founded, and there also the statue of Frontenac showing the "Fighting Governor" pointing to a cannon as the fitting mouthpiece which would deliver his reply to Phipps' summons to surrender; in Brantford, Ontario, the monument to Chief Joseph Brant, erected in 1886 and beautifully sculptured by Percy Wood; at Queenston Heights, towering over the gorge of the Niagara River, the magnificent memorial to Sir Isaac Brock which, erected in 1824, blown up by anti-British vandals in 1840, and restored as it now stands in 1853, challenges comparison with Nelson's famous column in Trafalgar Square; less pretentious but also reminiscent of the War of 1812 the rather beautiful monument to the Canadian heroine, Laura Secord; and finally, in Western Canada, the Treaty Memorial Monument at Fort Qu'Appelle, commemorating the first treaty between the Indians of the North West Territories and the "Great White Mother", Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

marks throughout Canada. It began to publish Annual Reports in 1915. It also undertook the completion of a Classified List of historic sites which had already been marked and it worked energetically for the marking of many which had been neglected. At its sixteenth and final meeting on May 18, 1922, its President, the late Lawrence J. Burpee, justly claimed that:

The Historic Landmarks Association has to its credit a number of years of faithful and useful work. It has labored quietly but persistently for the promotion of a public sentiment that would not permit the historic landmarks of Canada to remain neglected and forgotten. It may also fairly claim at least some of the credit for the establishment of the Quebec Battlefields Commission, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and the new Quebec Historic Monuments Commission. In other words the public sentiment aroused by this association for the preservation and marking of historic sites made the creation of these organizations possible.

The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada has a special interest for many in this audience because at its sixteenth annual meeting it transformed itself into the Canadian Historical Association. This change of name meant a broadening of interests but it did not mean that the original purpose was forgotten, for one of the three objects stated in the constitution of the new Association was "To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past". For some years a special Committee on Historic Landmarks lived on side by side with the Council of the Association and from then till now every Annual Report has contained material on the marking and preservation of historic sites and the commemoration of historic events and persons. One may say, I think, that in virtue of its ancestry and its constitution the Canadian Historical Association has an innate and natural interest in the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and its work.

How, then, was the Board created, who have served on it, what has been the nature of its organization, and what has it achieved? On Saturday morning, no doubt, its shortcomings, or alleged shortcomings, will be fully dealt with. For tonight I stay on the safer ground of factual description.

Insofar as any individual may be singled out as the physician attendant upon the birth of the Board that person is MR. J. B. HARKIN, who is still living in pleasant retirement in Ottawa. He had been a member of the Historic Landmarks Association and of its Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks. He was also in 1919 Commissioner of the Dominion Parks Board in the Department of the Interior. On March 1, 1919, he wrote a departmental memorandum which reads in part as follows:

I beg to say that the question of preserving the historical sites of Canada has been brought to the attention of the Department on many occasions since the creation of this Branch in 1911.

Due to strong representations from the Maritime Provinces, old Fort Howe at Saint John, New Brunswick, and Fort Anne at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, were in 1914 and 1917 respectively established Dominion Parks with the end in view of preserving these historical sites.

This Branch also took steps to have reserved in the Department's records the site of Fort Pelly in Manitoba and the burial ground of the men who fell

at Fish Creek, Saskatchewan, in the Riel Rebellion with the intention of sometime establishing them as historical parks or monuments.

A scheme to preserve the other sites of historical interest was under consideration by this Branch when the war postponed any further action along this line.

It seems to me a matter of very great importance from a national standpoint that all the available historical sites of the Dominion should be preserved at the earliest possible moment, since from reports it would seem that each year the condition of many of the old historical buildings and relics is getting worse and if they are allowed to continue to decay their value as historic relics will continue to depreciate.

In my opinion not every so-called historic site should be protected by the Federal Government as there will doubtless be claims advanced for the protection of sites which are only locally interesting from an historical standpoint.

To overcome the difficulty of determining which sites are truly of Dominion wide concern, I would suggest that an honorary board or committee be appointed, composed of men from all parts of the country who are authorities on Canadian history, to advise the Department in the matter of preserving those sites which preeminently possess Dominion wide interest.

It should not be necessary for this committee of, say, five members and two members of the Service in Ottawa, to meet more than once a year and if the Government were to pay their travelling expenses only the money should be saved many times over by having the appropriation for the preserving of the sites spent to the best advantage.

In this memorandum the Historic Sites and Monuments Board was born, for the Minister of the Department of the Interior at that time, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, approved of Mr. Harkin's proposal, the first members of the Board were appointed, and on October 28th, 1919, its first meeting was held in a departmental office in Ottawa.

Who, then, have served on the body which came into being after this fashion? The original members, as Mr. Harkin had suggested, were seven in number. Two were from the Department, Mr. Harkin himself and Mr. F. H. H. Williamson, who acted as Secretary. Five were honorary advisory members: DR. BENJAMIN SULTE of Ottawa, distinguished French-Canadian historian and poet; BRIG. GENERAL E. A. CRUIKSHANK, for a time Director of the Historical Section of the General Staff, historian of the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier and editor of *The Simcoe and Russell Papers*; Dr. James H. Coyne of St. Thomas, Ontario, who had given much productive study to the history of South Western Ontario, and Mr. W. C. Milner of Halifax and Archdeacon W. O. Raymond of Saint John, both of whom had been prominent in the movements for the preservation and marking of historic sites in their respective provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

At the first meeting of the Board it was moved by Mr. Milner and seconded by Dr. Coyne that General Cruikshank take the chair. His chairmanship lasted until his death in 1939 and during these twenty years much was accomplished and the organization and policies of the Board evolved into the general form which they have since retained. After a gap in 1940 because of the national preoccupation with the Second World War, the much beloved JUDGE F. W. HOWAY of New Westminster, historian of British Columbia and the chief Canadian authority on the maritime fur trade, became chairman from 1941 until his death in 1943, which was lamented by a host of

friends across Canada. From 1943 to 1950 the late DR. J. C. WEBSTER of Shediac, New Brunswick, whose work in the history of the Maritime Provinces is well known, gave the Board a distinguished leadership, and in 1950 he in turn was succeeded by PROFESSOR FRED LANDON, at that time Vice-President of the University of Western Ontario and an authority on the history of Ontario, the Great Lakes, and various aspects of Canadian-American relations.

Naturally the personnel of the Board has gradually changed as resignations and deaths took place over the years. Professor Landon and Professor D. C. Harvey, Archivist of Nova Scotia, joined the Board in 1931, Mr. Justice Fabre-Surveyer of Montreal in 1933, and Father Antoine d'Eschambault of Winnipeg in 1938. These are the senior members. In 1943 the Dominion Archivist was made a member *ex officio* and in 1953 the Curator of the National Museum was given a similar status. Except for the *ex officio* members, appointments have been for periods of five years, but members are eligible for reappointment and this has almost invariably taken place. Until 1953 the Board was authorized by Order-in-Council but in that year it was placed on a statutory basis.³

In concluding this survey of personnel perhaps one observation should be made. Though there has been no formal connection between the Board and the Canadian Historical Association there has been an informal one. Since its inception most of the members of the Board have been members also of the Association and no fewer than seven members of the Board have been Presidents of the Association. Few would claim that this community of membership and interests has been devoid of value, even though it may be of an intangible quality that is difficult to put into words.

So much for the membership of the Board. The present organization of its work, of course, is the result of an evolution, but I shall spare you the steps in that process and describe it as it is. In general it may be said to have a central aspect and a local or regional one.

The central aspect is particularly in evidence when the Board assembles for three or four days for its Annual Meeting in Ottawa late in May or early in June. It should be emphasized that it is simply an advisory body, functioning within the Department of the Interior at the beginning, but now within the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and in that Department within the National Parks Branch and the Historic Parks and Sites Division. Its recommendations, therefore, are subject to Departmental veto, which is seldom imposed, and to the availability of funds to implement them.

³ A photograph taken at the 1953 Annual Meeting of the Board was shown. The members were: Professor D. C. Harvey, Nova Scotia; Mr. C. E. A. Jeffery, Newfoundland; Professor F. Landon, Ontario; Mr. Justice Fabre-Surveyer, Quebec; Father A. d'Eschambault, Manitoba; Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist; Hon. Thane A. Campbell, Prince Edward Island; Professor W. N. Sage, British Columbia; Mr. Campbell Innis, Saskatchewan; Dr. F. J. Alcock, Chief Curator of the National Museum, Ottawa; Dr. M. H. Long, Alberta; Major-General H. A. Young, Deputy Minister, Department of National Resources and Development; Mr. J. A. Hutchison, Director, National Parks Branch; Colonel C. G. Child, Superintendent of Historic Parks and Sites and Secretary of the Board; Dean Alfred G. Bailey, New Brunswick and Mr. Bryan and Mr. Dove, Advisors in the National Parks Branch.

These materialize only when a three-fold gauntlet has been successfully run — the Departmental estimates, the general Governmental estimates as reviewed by the Cabinet, and the scrutiny of Parliament. I can assure you that if all the Board had to do were to wave some magic wand to provide the money it needs it would have accomplished much more in many directions than it has been able to achieve.

At its Annual Meeting the Board does, mainly, three things. First, it discusses matters of general policy and makes appropriate recommendations on them to the Department. Secondly, its members determine what sites, structures, events or persons should be commemorated. Proposals emanate from members of the Board, or from individual citizens who have approached the Board or some member of it, or from some official or Department of government. Sometimes they come also from churches, clubs, or societies of various sorts. To all proposals the Board has to apply one touchstone: "Does the person or event to be commemorated or the structure to be preserved possess national significance of some kind?" This is not always easy to determine for there are frequently border-line cases, and the Board can only exercise its best collective judgment. In cases which are not approved, it is still possible, obviously, for Provincial or municipal governments or groups of various kinds to take action which may be very much worthwhile, action which the Board greatly welcomes and in which both members of the Board and the Department are ready to cooperate. In cases which are approved there remains, thirdly, the work of composing suitable inscriptions. Drafts of these, prepared in the first place by the member of the Board for the Province where the memorial is to be placed, are then considered by the Board collectively. It is no easy matter to compress within an inscription of at the most 500 letters all the significant things which should be said and to say them in appropriate phrasing. It involves much scratching of heads and when a member's pet draft is submitted to the general discussion of the Board it emerges, sometimes in its framer's view badly mangled, but as a rule improved.

The Annual Meeting over, members of the Board, other than the three Ottawa officials, return to their respective homes in the ten Provinces of Canada, and the local or regional aspect of their work replaces the central aspect of it. The latter, however, does not completely disappear for the members are tied together by frequent correspondence with the Secretary in Ottawa, and important general matters which have arisen since the Annual Meeting are occasionally decided by discussion and vote through the mail. Locally members are responsible for the selection of the spots where monuments are to be erected or tablets placed, a task which is sometimes easy, sometimes difficult, and which occasionally involves local jealousies. Sometimes, also, trips have to be made to inspect possible sites, determine their authenticity, and choose the most suitable ones, or to inspect the condition of monuments and structures for which the Department has become responsible, or to make local contacts for the preparation of unveiling ceremonies. For the organization and conduct of these is another local duty of the member. He must either secure a suitable speaker to give the principal address or prepare and deliver it himself. Usually he arranges for some local body — an old timers' association, a local historical society, or

the municipal authorities to "sponsor" the unveiling, that is, to provide a platform, decorations, chairs, music, loudspeakers and publicity. It is a settled policy of the Board to enlist local interest and help in unveiling ceremonies, and usually the head of the sponsoring body is asked to act as chairman for the occasion. All this involves a good deal of effort, and not infrequently tact, on the part of the Board member. Unveiling ceremonies are attended by audiences which vary from scores to hundreds, or even one or two thousand, and sometimes they are rather colourful.

The unveiling of the Alexander MacKenzie Obelisk at Bella Coola, B. C., August 26th, 1927 had *H.M.C.S. Patrician* in attendance. The Crowfoot unveiling at Gleichen, Alberta, had the Indian Council Chamber as a back drop, and Duck Chief, Head Chief of the *Blackfoot*, Shot on both Sides, Head Chief of the *Bloods* and a number of Indians in attendance.⁴ Other particularly colourful unveilings were in Central Park, Calgary, commemorating the establishment of Fort Calgary by the North West Mounted Police in August 1875; near Cobden, Ontario, commemorating the discovery of Champlain's Astrolabe; the memorial of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Welshpool, Campobello Island, New Brunswick; and the Alcock-Brown Trans-Atlantic Flight (1919) Memorial at St. John's, Newfoundland.

From what has been said it will have become apparent that the duties of members of the Board follow them the year around. Perhaps it should be added that their service is honorary in character. Except for a fee while attending the Annual Meeting, expenses only are received.

One of the immediate things which the Board had to determine at the beginning of its activities was the nature of the tablets and monuments which it would set up. As to the tablets, it was decided that they should be of two sorts: for persons, places or structures of major national significance a larger or standard tablet, and for those of lesser national importance a smaller, secondary one. It was also decided that in parts of Canada where the population was overwhelmingly French the inscription should be in French, where it was overwhelmingly English-speaking it should be in English, and where the population was mixed, or some other circumstance made it appropriate, the inscription should be bilingual.

A good example of the *standard tablet* is that on the monument near Morden, Saskatchewan, commemorating the celebrated journey of La Verendrye to the country of the Mandan Indians. It bears one of the bilingual inscriptions. The design of the tablet was arrived at by holding a nation-wide competition. The first prize was awarded to Major Ernest Forbery, sculptor. The overall height of his tablet is 33½ inches and its width 20 inches, and it embodies much interesting symbolism. The frame is surrounded by a border of pine cones and pine needles emblematic of our northern climate. It is surmounted by a Crown signifying that Canada is a monarchy and a unit of the Empire-Commonwealth. Below the Crown are maple leaves and below these an inscription "Historic Sites and Monuments Board of

⁴ Big Swan, Big Snake, Pretty Young Man, Many Bears, Charles Raw Eaten, William Many Heads and Two Young Men were in the illustration.

Canada", or its French equivalent. Last year the design was changed so that "Erected by the Government of Canada" now appears at the top and "Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada" is placed in the panel at the foot. On either side surrounding the circular reliefs, are representations of the lily, rose, thistle, shamrock, and leek, emblems of the peoples from France and the British Isles who were the early settlers of Canada. In the circular relief on the left is depicted the arrival of Jacques Cartier which marked the beginning of Canadian history, and in that on the right, portraying the later development of Canada, are in the foreground a harbor with elevator, docks and shipping, in the left background a cultivated countryside, and in the right background a city. At the bottom, on the shield to the left is the first coat of arms used in Canada, the fleur de lis and cross, and on the right the shield bears the modern arms of Canada. It may be claimed, I think, that the tablet displays imagination, dignity and artistry.

The secondary tablet, of which that cast in honor of the late SIR ROBERT FALCONER, for so many years President of the University of Toronto, is an example, is smaller and less ornate in character. It was designed in consultation with the Department by the Canada Bronze Company of Montreal, the firm which casts tablets for the Board. Occasionally,⁵ appropriate additional emblems have been placed above or below the standard tablets.

In addition to providing appropriate tablets, suitable monuments had to be evolved on which to place them. These have been of various types. The simplest is the boulder left by nature on or near the site to be commemorated. This has been used effectively, I think, in marking the site of the Indian village, HOCHELAGA, visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535, which was on or near the campus of McGill University in Montreal. Next comes the stone block, set on a low pedestal and roughly chiseled, as in the case of the memorial on Marine Drive, Vancouver, to that rugged explorer SIMON FRASER, of the North West Co., marking the spot where he completed the hazardous descent of the river that bears his name. In a great many cases the cairn has been used in one of two forms: the field stone cairn as at ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE, ALBERTA, and the flat-faced stone cairn as at Blenheim, Ontario, commemorating MCKEE'S PURCHASE, in 1790, of a large tract of land from the Indians to provide new homes for United Empire Loyalists. Not infrequently these cairns are in remote places and fit naturally into an environment little touched by man. In a few cases the cross has been used as at Port Dover, Ontario, to mark the spot where the missionaries, DOLLIER AND GALINEE, in March 1670, erected a cross and took possession of the Lake Erie region for the King of France; or at Saint John, New Brunswick, in King Square, in commemoration of the FOUNDING OF THE PROVINCE, August 16, 1784; or as at Gaspé where JACQUES CARTIER erected his celebrated cross in 1534. Across the continent the obelisk form of monument was successfully employed, as has been noted, to mark the

⁵ Examples illustrated were: A bronze tablet bearing a likeness made from a photograph of the famous sailing vessel *Bluenose*; a likeness of Champlain's astrolabe, lost in 1613, found in 1867; and the form of an early aircraft on the tablet marking the first Canadian military test flights at Petawawa.

point on Dean Channel near Bella Coola where SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE reached the Pacific on July 21, 1793. Even the Legend which he painted on the rocks has been reproduced below the monument on the self-same rocks. Of recent years recourse has been had more frequently to cut stone monuments of two types. One, designed by the Engineering Branch of the Department of the Interior, was employed to commemorate the public services of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. ALEXANDER MACDONNELL, colonizer in Glengarry, chaplain in the War of 1812, first Roman Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada, and member of the Legislative Council; and the other, designed by Mr. W. D. Cromarty, architect and Superintendent of Historic Parks and Sites, may be seen in the INDIAN TREATIES MONUMENT at Orillia, marking the negotiation of Indian land surrenders of 1798, 1815 and 1818. Occasionally, when funds have been made available, more pretentious cut stone monuments have been erected such as that which stands opposite the city hall in Lachine, in honor of LASALLE.

In all, the Department, on the advice of the Board, has marked 477 sites, and 188 more have been approved and are on a waiting list until funds become available.

In addition, not a few monuments erected by others have, with their sites, on the recommendation of the Board, come under the control of the Department for proper care and maintenance.⁶ Not only monuments, but many historic structures and areas, have been taken over by the Department on the advice of the Board for preservation or reconstruction and maintenance, and in some cases historical museums have come into being in connection with them. The usual procedure has been to erect the areas, whether large or small, into National Historic Parks.

One of the most interesting of these is the Port Royal National Historic Park at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. There, on the original site on the shore of the Annapolis Basin, the Government of Canada has erected a replica of the Port Royal Habitation built in 1605 by Champlain and De Monts. Champlain's Plan of the Habitation was a valuable guide in the work of reconstruction and today one may wander through these buildings and stroll about the courtyard and with little effort of the imagination picture the life lived by these first European settlers in Canada.

Destroyed by Captain Samuel Argall from Virginia in 1613, Port Royal was rebuilt about 1633 several miles eastward on the south shore of the Annapolis River, and after the conquest of Acadia by Britain it was renamed Annapolis Royal. Here has been erected the FORT ANNE National Historic Park. It has many interesting

⁶ Examples of these, large and small, are: The well known monument to the French Canadian heroine, Madeleine de Verchères, the figure done in bronze by the sculptor Philippe Hébert, erected by the Government of Canada in 1913 and transferred to the Department in 1923; the Glengarry Cairn at South Lancaster, Ontario, commemorating the men of the Glengarry Militia who took part in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1837; the Memorial Tower near Preston, Ontario, in memory of the pioneer settlers of Waterloo County; the monuments to the battles in the War of 1812 of Chrysler's Farm, Stoney Creek, and Lundy's Lane; and in the West on Main Street, West Kildonan, Winnipeg, the Seven Oaks Monument commemorating the armed clash between the partisans of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies on June 19, 1816.

features including the old French powder magazine, the ancient muzzle loading cannon and piles of iron cannon balls on the ramparts, a monument to the SIEUR DE MONTS, and the old OFFICER'S QUARTERS now transformed into a museum. Its different rooms are devoted to the display of relics of successive periods such as the ACADIAN ROOM and the PRE-LOYALIST ROOM.

Further eastward the Department, on the recommendation of the Board, has recently assumed custodianship of the historic CITADEL OF HALIFAX and has begun long-term operations for its preservation. On Cape Breton Island, also, the extensive ruins of the FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG, the "Dunkirk of America", constitute yet another National Historic Park and out of some of its tumbled stone A MUSEUM has been built which houses relics of the fortress and also a carefully reconstructed MODEL which shows what it was originally like.

Likewise, in New Brunswick on the Isthmus of Chignecto we have the FORT BEAUSEJOUR National Historic Park and a MUSEUM, which owes its establishment largely to the initiative of the late Dr. Webster. One of its most interesting relics is the old BEAUBASSIN CHURCH BELL.

Similarly, in Quebec two famous fortresses guarding the vulnerable approach to Canada by the Richelieu River have been erected into National Historic Parks. These are FORT LENNOX at Ile-aux-Noix about 12 miles south of St. John's, with its beautiful PARADE GROUND and the massive colonaded OFFICER'S QUARTERS, and FORT CHAMBLY, first built of wood in 1665, nearly 300 years ago. A portion of the interior has been equipped as a MUSEUM. The BIRTH-PLACE OF SIR WILFRED LAURIER at St. Lin, Quebec, furnished as in his boyhood, has also been acquired as a Museum. In front stands a standard tablet mounted on a boulder, and in the interior a view of THE KITCHEN and a corner of THE DINING ROOM illustrate the period furnishing.

In Ontario the same work of preserving historic structures and areas and making them and their relics accessible to the public has been carried on. Three examples only must suffice: the MARTELLO TOWER in Macdonald Park, Kingston, erected by the Royal Engineers in 1846 for the defence of that strategic city and leased to the Kingston Historical Society for museum purposes; the BLOCK HOUSE in Fort Wellington National Historic Park, Prescott, built during the War of 1812 to defend the line of communication between Kingston and Montreal; and the FORT MALDEN National Historic Park, Amherstburg.

In Western Canada I need hardly mention LOWER FORT GARRY, built by the Hudson's Bay Company between 1831 and 1839, which many of you have so recently visited. It came under the care of the Department in 1951. Further north at Churchill, Manitoba, in Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park, are preserved the partially restored walls of that most northerly fortress in North America, built by the Company between 1733 and 1771. About two miles away, also, the Department acquired in 1932 the area of rock at Sloop Cove on which SAMUEL HEARNE laboriously carved his name in 1767.

Further west at Battleford the buildings of the original North West Mounted Police Post established there in 1876, which had been

rescued and restored as a MEMORIAL MUSEUM largely by private effort led by Mr. Campbell Innes, Saskatchewan member of the Board, were acquired and erected in 1951 into the Fort Battleford National Historic Park.

And finally, across the mountains, the only remaining building of FORT LANGLEY, built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1827, was acquired in 1924 with a view to its preservation. It is now used as a Museum by the Native Sons of British Columbia.

I should like to conclude this paper with the paying of a tribute and the expression of a hope. The tribute is to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and particularly to the Historic Parks and Sites Division of the National Parks Branch with which the Board in its advisory capacity is so closely associated. The erection of its own monuments and tablets across the breadth of Canada, the care of them and of others which have come under its control, the restoration and maintenance of historic sites and structures, the operation of museums — all these together obviously constitute a task of very considerable magnitude. Among members of the Board admiration for the efficiency with which this task has been performed by the officials of the Department is only equalled by appreciation of the unwearied courtesy and helpfulness which has been experienced at their hands.

The hope that I wish to express is that the survey which I have tried to give will not only have provided a useful background for discussion by the Canadian Historical Association on Saturday morning but will also have increased the interest of the body of citizens here present in the Board and its work. Admittedly, external criticism is salutary for the Board. Constructive suggestions and other forms of cooperation, also, are most welcome both from individuals and from organizations such as the Canadian Historical Association. Above all, however, an informed and widespread public interest is essential for without its influence on governments adequate funds will not be forthcoming for the proper execution of worthy commemorative projects, whether on a national or a provincial or a local scale. If such public interest has been increased even a little by this paper its main purpose will have been achieved.

CANADIAN NATIONALISM — IMMATURE OR OBSOLETE ?

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CANADIAN NATIONALISM — I should perhaps begin by apologizing for bringing up this hardy perennial once more. Through the years this Association has repeatedly been addressed on various aspects of the subject. The pages of the *Canadian Historical Review* have frequently dealt with it. Our general histories are full of it. Public figures, authors, critics constantly regard it, in a sort of ritual contemplation of the Canadian navel. Even Royal Commissions sit to inquire into the state of our national consciousness. In fact, the thought comes to mind that this particular plant might possibly thrive better if Canadians were not always anxiously pulling it up by the roots to see whether it is growing.

Nevertheless here I am, the latest and the least to examine Canadian nationalism. And my only defence is that, in the world of today, we face an interesting problem in this regard. Our nationalism, we are often told, is immature; we must develop it. Yet equally we hear that nationalism in a world of super-powers and hydrogen-bomb warfare is outmoded, and not only obsolete but downright dangerous. We must think beyond nationalism to world government: there is no room for an antiquated nineteenth-century concept such as the sovereign nation-state.

The problem even appears to be reflected in our schools. And while I make no claim to such an extensive and devastating knowledge of the curriculum as Professor Hilda Neatby, it does seem that the guardians of the young minds have become entangled in the question. Thus there is a tendency among them to suggest that nationalism is a bad thing — for other people, especially Europeans. But for us it is quite all right. Is it? That is the question I hope to consider. Is there some value to be found in Canadian nationalism in the contemporary world — leaving aside for the moment the question of how far a distinctive Canadian nationalism exists at all?

As for immaturity, there is of course a good deal of evidence that our attributes of nationhood have not gone far beyond a complex political mechanism that seeks to reconcile British Columbia to Newfoundland and Ontario to Quebec (and everybody else to Ontario), an equally complex transportation system, and a booming Department of External Affairs which every bright young History undergraduate aspires to join. But what of the Canadian national identity? Can one tell a Manitoban from a Minnesotan? Or a Torontonian whose spiritual home is Buffalo, New York, from a citizen of any large northern American city? Where is our painting aside from pine trees, our music aside from O Canada? We are a young country, we know, but this kind of eternal youth may start to look a little haggard.

True, there are always our boundless resources. Wait till we develop our oil and iron wealth to the full. Then every part of the country can be like nickel-rich Sudbury, with a municipal arena larger

in proportion to population than Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens, two dozen outlets for beer and one book store. And if we are good and work hard — or rather are lucky and work less — we may all have a television set, two mortgages, and all the finer things in life. Surely we are immature when so often the popular aim seems to be to make this nation a second-best United States in terms of bath-tubs and Buicks, with little awareness of the cultural growth which gives that country bone, fibre, and a vigorous national life of its own.

There is no need to labour this theme of national immaturity further, except to point to the evident fact that Canada's division into two language communities — to say nothing of the regional divisions — has severely limited the growth of a common nationalism. And yet, beyond the question of immaturity is the further question raised by the terrifying modern age: whether the very aim of shaping a national personality is not hopelessly out of date. For what place has one more nationalism in a supra-national world — a world beyond nations, but not, unhappily, a truly international world?

It is by now a truism that we live in a two-power world, where very few nations can hope to count as entities in the bleak pattern of world power. The leading nation-states of the past have been replaced by giants that are in themselves vast continental empires rather than nations in the old sense. And by the side of the American or Soviet super-states we may see only two other potential Great Powers, China and India, themselves continental empires in character. Canada, for all her transcontinental sweep, cannot by virtue of her limitations in climate and barren soil be considered as a candidate for this class, nor Brazil or Australia, the only other territorial units comparable in size. Indeed, Canada, for all essential purposes of the power balance, counts as part of the North American continental unit that weighs in the scales against the Eurasian land-mass controlled by the Soviet Union.

Today, as we know, the non-Great Power nations, from the greatest of these, Britain, through middle powers like Canada to small powers like Colombia or Egypt, tend to act in world affairs through formal or informal groupings, whether they be NATO, the Latin American block, the Arab League, or the hearty comradeship of the people's democracies. Agglomerations, not separate nations, are the primary factors in international politics. Those nations that seek to stand aloof, cherishing dreams of independent sovereignty, too often show by their very sensitivity that their ancient pride or youthful hopes are shot through with an uneasy awareness that sovereignty has become a luxury they may not be permitted to enjoy. It might almost be said that in our supra-national world only the insignificant can hope to have national independence. And Canada is not that insignificant.

Consciousness of the limits of nationalism of course has long been growing, in the western world, at any rate. Thus the United Nations was planned as a supra-national authority that could to some extent bind and direct the nation-states of the world. That positive side of supra-nationalism may have failed to fulfil the early hopes for its development. But in a negative sense the supra-national age is very much upon us, as big and small nations find themselves swept along in the currents of super-state diplomacy, and even the super-states are

integrally linked with allies — despite go-it-alone throwbacks in our neighbour to the south.

None of this will seem very new; but it does underline the basic point: that in the present age that is making nations obsolete, an ardent effort to shape a strong Canadian nationalism may at least be open to query, while a concentration on mere forms and symbols of national independence may have little meaning at all. Settling our national flag question, for instance, will not affect world realities. We could mount a beaver rampant on a codfish, and Russians would still be sure that we were an American satellite, Americans that we should be glad to serve at once under the inspired command of the Pentagon. Flags and anthems are the result not the cause of national identity, and the still divisive flag issue in Canada is an internal not an external aspect of the state of the nation.

Yet nationalism, fully considered, is very much a matter of a people's internal development; and that rather obvious point leads on to an answer to the query posed above. For in any case, within this country, something has been taking shape which can only be called a Canadian national identity — whether this development is good or bad, fruitful or futile, in the world of today. It is there, and it continues to grow, whatever its immaturities or shortcomings may be in terms of older ideas of nationalism. And I think it may be shown that this Canadian version of nationalism is by no means ill equipped or out of place in the modern supra-national world.

Demonstrating such a statement involves examining the great inscrutable, the Canadian national character. Professor Malcolm Ross, in his stimulating introduction to a recent collection of Canadian essays, *Our Sense of Identity*, finds the key to our national character in "opposites in tension"; and that, I think, is a most effective suggestion. That is, he explains the Canadian identity in terms of the strains and pulls between the two widely different French and English-speaking communities in Canada, a special relationship which more than anything else distinguishes this North American country from the North American nation to the south. This tension is "our natural mode"¹ — we take it for granted. Yet for all the surface appearance of calm, even dullness, in Canadian national life, our experience has been one of constantly adjusting strains between the divergent groups, in the knowledge that there is no ultimate resolving of tension to be foreseen.

The tensions between the two main language groups are repeated on lesser scale between the various regional or ethnic communities also found in Canada. The United States knows similar regional and ethnic variations, but there the standard, at least, is not so much an acceptance of continuing differences as an ideal of absorption in a common and basically uniform national culture. No doubt wide regional variations exist in the American republic, wider perhaps, as regards range of environment and length of regional tradition, than are found in many parts of Canada. Nevertheless it is plain that the United States has much greater cohesion, because it has one dominant language, and culture, and much greater economic unity and mobility

¹ Ross, M., ed., *Our Sense of Identity* (Toronto, 1954).

of population. Despite qualifications, therefore, American nationalism is far more based on fusion and uniform standards. It is more like the older, monolithic, nineteenth-century variety of nationalism than is the Canadian type, which exists and grows in the changing relations between groups that do not become assimilated to one another.

Can we speak of national growth in this connection? I think so. Did not Baldwin and Lafontaine achieve a broad measure of self-government out of, and in part because of, the tensions? Did not Macdonald, Cartier, Brown and others go forward to a federal union largely because of them, and did not King work with them in reaching national status? Canadian nationalism then takes shape in the balancing and adjusting of forces within Canada. Though it looks vastly different from the usually accepted variety, there is no reason not to call it nationalism, since it distinguishes the whole Canadian people, has moulded their very growth, and is expressed in their dealings with the outside world. There have, of course, been other nations founded on differing language communities; but the scale, and indeed the world significance, of a Belgium or a Switzerland do not make them adequate parallels for Canada; while the racial problems of a South Africa add a complexity — and perhaps an ominous degree of difficulty — which fortunately we lack.

In consequence, Canada may be said to embody a largely new kind of nationalism, perhaps a twentieth century version, wherein basic community differences continue to exist and the whole national structure recognizes that fact. This pattern informs Canadian political life, and is bound up in the Canadian federal system, through which the two main communities and the several regions can satisfy both their need for unity, so that they may survive apart from the United States, and their divergent tendencies that seek autonomy within the nation. But both aspects fit together, as the Rowell-Sirois Report well pointed out:

National unity and provincial autonomy must not be thought of as competitors for the citizen's allegiance, for, in Canada at least, they are but two facets of the same thing — a sane federal system. National unity must be based on provincial autonomy, and provincial autonomy cannot be assured unless a strong feeling of national unity exists throughout Canada.²

Accordingly the Canadian may learn from his own federal system a sense of the interconnectedness of local and general affairs, which he can transfer to the world at large. His nationalism does not close doors for him to other peoples; indeed, it almost opens his eyes to world variety, for the Canadian scene at home is essentially compounded of diversities that yet are linked together. In comparison, the American has a different experience at home, where in his federal structure the central power has loomed so large since 1865, and where, again, a uniform standard of "one hundred per cent" nationalism is far more in evidence. The American, as a result, tends to project his own established standard to the world, to think of bringing the American way to foreign peoples. Thus he may recoil in dismay when he finds the foreigners have little desire for this particular brand

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa, 1940) II, 269.

of export. The Canadian would not know what the Canadian way was, if he did have the power to export it, though he might know the Nova Scotian way, or the Albertan way. Having less desire to project himself, he perhaps can get on better with the world.

✓ Because the Canadian lives amid differences and complexities at home he is not notably surprised to find them on the world scene. It may be that the American gives more earnest attention to world affairs, that the Canadian is more apathetic. But equally it might be that the Canadian does not expect, from his own experience, any straightforward solutions or reconciliations between opposed groups, whereas the American, because of his success in fusing differences within his own nation, is cast down when he finds that no similar acceptance of common standards can be won in the world outside.

Certainly a Canadian nationalism that dwells in a tension of opposites at home, will not be ill-suited to face a world of tensions abroad, even though these tensions be many times more acute. Pulls and counter-pulls between ethnic communities, regional interests, religious groupings, underlie the Canadian's very existence. Hence he can still comprehend them in their far more aggravated form on the international scene.

In sum, I do believe that the Canadian version of nationalism is well qualified to persist in the present kind of world. In the first place, being bound up with and limited by Canada's internal divisions, it plays no aggressive or unsettling part in world affairs as the older variety of nationalism has done. Instead it leads Canada to accept quite readily the existence of fundamental and enduring differences in international politics and to work forward from that point for day-to-day adjustments, for practical, even superficial, easings of world tensions in the same way she has found necessary in her own national life. Her faith is in the *modus vivendi*, for it has worked and grown steadily more viable in her own case.

In the second place, the fact that Canadian nationalism is anything but monolithic, uniform, or clearly defined, equips this people for dealing with a supra-national world where the tight, self-contained national entity is out of date and where increasingly the actual situation is one of combinations of nations around super-powers and ties and commitments that override national sovereignties. Metropolitan economic connections, for example, more than ever before make it impossible for a country to manage its own economic life, whether they are expressed in patterns of trade, Sterling and Dollar blocks, or the plan of Marshall Aid. Mutual security arrangements like the Canadian-American Joint Defence Board or the European Defence Community limit national independence at its very core, the control of military action.

In such a world of complex relationships between communities, older nationalisms may be ill at ease, but the Canadian finds a good deal of his own experience reflected in it. ↘ He has never really known the now vanishing concept of wholly self-contained national sovereignty, having always been integrally linked with other countries — Britain, the Empire and Commonwealth, and now with the American super-state and the United Nations. Thus by recognizing the real

limits of national independence today, and the inevitability of outside ties, Canada is able to function more effectively as a nation in a world dominated by super-powers.

At the same time it is vitally important in this world that there should be something more than just opposed super-powers. The world needs nations that can, through their own limitations of size and power, offer a basis for truly international action in a way that super-states leading mere power blocks perhaps can never do, and which also can work as far as is possible to keep the talking war going and the shooting war between super-states from starting.

The Canadian, moreover, has known outside metropolitan economic controls throughout his own history. He can accept the inevitabilities of an economically interconnected world to a greater degree than his North American neighbours who today find themselves with the privileges of metropolitan ascendancy but are none too ready to accept the corresponding duties. The Canadian also has always had partners in maintaining his own security, and has never taken substantial military action in isolation, on his own. Looking in, therefore, he can look out, finding in his own past a preparation for the interconnected, interdependent world of today.

Finally, it might be urged that in the Canadian national personality (and here I mean something beyond the dual French-and-English-speaking personalities) there are attributes which fit the people of this country as a whole for an age of constant threat and crisis. Canadians, we are told, are conservative and cautious, and they are not given to defining national ideals, to searching analyses — or to much creative thinking at all. Their caution may be called either apathy or stability; their lack of clear ideals and original philosophy, superficiality or practicality: it all depends where you stand. Nevertheless, it seems that these characteristics are rooted in the Canadian historic experience, and they may not prove bad qualities for the present age.

Canadians, in very origin as weak remnants of the defeated French empire or the shattered First British empire in America, were by their necessities impelled to caution, in a way unknown to their powerful, confident and well-endowed American neighbours. Canadians, too, in their divided and difficult country could hardly afford to penetrate their problems too deeply: besides, there was so much to be done. Thus the culture-heroes of Canada are practical men, builders and technicians, political or otherwise; and it is astounding how much success they have had in keeping this country united and growing. Understandably, therefore, Canadians have shown an abiding faith in pragmatic ways, in treating matters piecemeal as they arise in the hope that the big enduring issues will never come to debate. With a few notable exceptions — to prove the rule — it may be said that this cautious, pragmatic, surface approach largely explains why Canadian history has been full of the grumbles of the multitude and the moral indignation of the few men of doctrine; but has been singularly lacking in violence and bloodshed.

In the turbulent, deeply divided modern world, the pragmatic approach that concentrates on the immediate consequence and not the "great debates" of principle is not wholly without merit. From his

own historic experience of success within grave limitations of environment and national unity, the Canadian tends to hope always, but never too broadly: to be, perhaps, complacent and tough-minded at the same time. Hence he can show resilience in a succession of world crises, without a pendulum swing from bright dreams of world brotherhood to suspicion of everything foreign. And even the Canadian lack of well defined national ideas and doctrines may not be such a debilitating handicap in a world surfeited with ideologies.

Accordingly, with all its shortcomings, there is no reason to write off Canadian nationalism as obsolete today. However immature it still may be in the cultural sense, those among us who look for its advance need not feel that the road to Canadian nationhood has yet become a blind alley in this supra-national age. As long, I might add, as atomic warfare does not transfer mankind from the realm of the supra-national to that of the supernatural.

DISCUSSION

Professor Lower felt that there were no grounds for apology in again examining Canadian nationalism. Like lovely woman, we are frequently absorbed in self-contemplation. He preferred the word "community" implying the binding together by ties, to the term "nationalism". He was disturbed by a constant flux which upsets whatever developments are in train. Values established, are knocked over again: hence our constant debates on education. It is most important that we establish a set of values. *Professor Soward* admitted to being described as a nationalist. The two world wars had accelerated the development of nationalism, a development within our own environment but under concentration. After 1918 Claxton, Rogers, MacKenzie, F. R. Scott etc. dived into nationalism. The second World War increased our self-confidence. In his mind there was no problem, we have a nationalism and had maturity; with all parts of Canada contributing. The role of the C. B. C. in this connection has still to be told. We have a regionalism blended with a centralized maximum unit, and we have carried this sense of blended nationalism into commonwealth affairs. We distrust too strong a centre, be in Ottawa, London, Geneva or Washington. *Dr. Careless* agreed with *F. D. Blackley* that our experience of divisions within Canada did influence external policy. It gave us superior qualifications to share in the adjustment of differences between world communities. Monolithic communities did not do this so easily. *Dr. Norman MacKenzie* asked about the effect of the continued impact of American culture on Canadian nationalism, and upon our youth in particular. *Dr. Careless* was conscious of the problem on two levels. In the shared North American environment, and with mass media of communication, the impact was inevitable, and would become stronger. But, again, Americanization with its industrialization, democracy, capitalism, technology and accompanying values was a world-wide process in the twentieth century. We must be aware that the United States has a full culture. We must suffer through a "cultural recession" as we, like others, take the

less valuable elements first. The United States herself, has emerged from this mediocratization. He did not fear the disappearance of Canadian cultural identity so long as we remained a bi-cultural community. There was a continuing British ingredient in our midst, and ties with Europe continue. More difficult was the danger of economic and political integration. *Mr. Mason Wade* believed that the monolithic aspects of the United States had been over-stressed. There were many divisions in the United States which made the adoption of a common foreign policy very difficult. And the question of cultural impacts was a two-way process. The C. B. C. in general, "*La Presse*" in New England, and the influence of Canadian-born upon American life, were cited. *Professor Underhill* wanted to end this complacency. We had worn out the theme of "3000 miles of undefended frontier" and were now engaged with a new theme of "special fitness" to solve the problems of others, because we have problems of our own. The United States is not monolithic. The Civil War, the colour problem, Dixiecrats, and McCarthyites witness much deeper differences than our own. French-English differences were quite superficial and the quarrels of Duplessis and St. Laurent were mere shadow boxing. The United States was well qualified, from experience with its own deep internal divisions, to deal with world affairs. We don't know the depths of tragedy; witness France still divided on the issues of 1789. We should tell ourselves that we are unfitted. *Mr. Pearson* was a contemporary Benes buzzing around with a formula. It would be demonstrated as futile. *W. J. Rose* hoped that we would not think of nationalism as obsolete. He liked nationalism, but not professional nationalists with chips on their shoulders. The world admires our accommodation to our tension. He entirely agreed with *Dr. Careless*. *Mrs. McKellar* felt that we were regional in our loyalty while at home, but Canadians when abroad.

Le R. P. Adrien Pouliot désire exprimer la pensée des Canadiens de langue française. Educateur par profession, voici comment, à son avis, les éducateurs canadiens-français, d'un océan à l'autre, contribuent à l'établissement d'un nationalisme canadien: c'est en donnant aux jeunes gens dont ils sont responsables la meilleure formation possible, selon l'esprit de leur race et de leur foi. De même que le rendement national d'un individu est en fonction de son perfectionnement personnel dans tous les domaines, ainsi le rendement national des groupes ethniques qui composent le Canada se mesure-t-il à leur perfectionnement culturel spécifique. Pour illustrer la préoccupation qu'ont les éducateurs canadiens-français d'insuffler à leurs élèves un esprit canadien, le P. Pouliot raconte le voyage à Ottawa effectué récemment par les Rhétoriciens du Collège de Jésuites de Québec: coup d'oeil sur les ambassades et les résidences d'Etat, audition de deux procès à la Cour suprême, visite prolongée aux Archives du Canada, déjeuner au Café du Parlement, en compagnie d'un ministre, d'un sénateur et d'un député, contact avec le parlementarisme de la Chambre des Communes et du Sénat, entrevue d'un quart d'heure avec le premier ministre dans son bureau. Non seulement cette excursion d'une journée restera pour nos collégiens un agréable souvenir, mais ils ont pris conscience, avec admiration, de la réalité nationale canadienne.

THE BACKGROUND OF LOUIS BUADE, COMTE DE FRONTENAC

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LITTLE IS known of the early career of Louis Buade, comte de Frontenac. His grandfather, Antoine de Buade, had been a companion of Henri IV and an associate of the vicomte de Turenne, father of the famous soldier.¹ After serving as the King's personal equerry for several years, Antoine de Buade was appointed governor of St. Germain-en-Laye and *premier maître d'hôtel du Roi*.² In 1619 he was made a *chevalier* of the order of St. Esprit.³ He was reputed to be insatiably avaricious;⁴ he is known to have engaged in commercial transactions⁵ and to have acquired the barony of Paluau in the Indre valley from Claude Brachat, by the time honoured method of foreclosing the mortgage.⁶ Thus he was able to bequeath a considerable estate to his sons.⁷

Antoine de Buade's influential position at the Court is evidenced by the fact that the connétable de Montmorency and Mademoiselle de Vendôme stood as godfather and godmother to his son Henri,⁸ who eventually entered the army and obtained the rank of *maître de camp* of the régiment de Navarre.⁹ Antoine, with great perspicacity, later arranged a marriage between his son Henri and Anne Phelypeaux, a daughter of the very influential Pontchartrain family, her father and uncle both being *secrétaires d'état*.¹⁰ When, in 1620, they had a son, it was Louis XIII who stood as the child's godfather and gave it his own name.¹¹ Thus Louis Buade, comte de Frontenac et de Paluau, grandson of one *secrétaire d'état*, grandnephew of another and godson of the King, began life under quite auspicious circumstances.

He apparently received as good an education as the times afforded; for several years he attended the same college as the abbé Tronson who

¹ *Mémoires du Vicomte de Turenne*, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par le Comte Baguenault de Puchesse. Paris, 1901, pp. 132-133, 203-204.

² *Mémoires de St. Simon*, edited by A. de Boislisle. (41 vols., Paris, 1879) VI, 166, n. 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Morel de Thoisy, vol. CVII, fol. 381-383, Factum pour Messire Antoine de Buade Sieur de Frontenac, Premier Maistre d'Hotel du Roy, Demandeur au principal et en saisie, et incidement Defendeur. Contre Ishau Baptiste Cezar Cenamy et Compagnons, Defendeurs et Demandeurs en Requête de mainlevée.

⁶ Châteauroux, Departmental Archives, Indre et Loire. Series E, dossier II, no. 2. Titres de Propriétés de la seigneurie de Paluau. Sezie (sic) faite sur Claude Brachat adjudgée par le parlement à Antoine de Buade 78.000 livres quatre vingt une. 19 janvier 1606 (parchemin).

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fo. Factum 2505. Extrait des registres des Parlement. Homologation de contrat passé entre Louis de Buade-Frontenac comte de Palluau, et ses créanciers. 12 décembre 1664.

⁸ *Mémoires de St. Simon*, XIV, 268-271, 270, n. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* (In his thesis, *Le comte de Frontenac*, Henri Lorin erroneously states that Henri Buade's son, Louis, the future governor of New France, was maître de camp of the régiment de Navarre.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 166, n. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 166, n. 3.

later became superior of the Messieurs de St. Sulpice.¹² But for a person of his background only two careers were open, the church or the army. He chose the latter and by the age of twenty-three he had obtained the rank of colonel of the régiment de Normandie.¹³ It was while serving with this regiment at the siege of Orbitello in 1646 that he was severely wounded, one arm being crippled for life.¹⁴ Shortly afterwards he was made a *maréchal de camp*.¹⁵

At the time of the Fronde Frontenac was serving as a *garde* to Monsieur, the King's brother,¹⁶ and he was already noted for his extravagance.¹⁷ In her memoirs, Mademoiselle de Montpensier — la grande Mademoiselle — comments on his expensive tastes and his colossal vanity. After spending a few days at Frontenac's château at l'Ile Savary, which she describes as being "assez joli pour une homme comme lui",¹⁸ she commented on the plans he had made for the embellishment of the château, remarking, "Il faudroit être surintendant (de finances) pour les executer."¹⁹ On another occasion she depicts him as affecting to hold a court at St. Fargeau, one of the royal chateaux where she resided, and of his expecting to be treated as a *grand seigneur* by all who came to dine with him, this being a pretence which she found utterly ridiculous.²⁰

It is not surprising, therefore, that by 1648 he was over 66,000 *livres* in debt.²¹ To remedy this situation he secretly married the only daughter of a wealthy *maître de requêtes*, who upon discovering that he had Frontenac for a son-in-law, refused to countenance the marriage and disinherited his daughter.²² Worse still, by means of legal redtape

¹² Paris. Archives Nationale, Series C11A, XIII, 267, Frontenac à de Lagny, Quebec, 2 November 1695.

¹³ M. Pinard, *Chronologique Historique-Militaire*, (Paris, 1763) VI, 216-217.

¹⁴ *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, IX-1 (Paris, 1860) IX-1, 353, Journal d'Olivier Lefèvre D'Ormesson.

¹⁵ Vincennes, Ministère de la Guerre, Series A, XCVI, Brévet du Maréchal de Camp pour le Comte de Frontenac, 16 August 1646.

¹⁶ Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Series France, Mémoires et Documents, MDXCI, 358, Sr. Frucher au comte de Chavigny, Paris, 30 April 1649.

¹⁷ *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, edited by A. Cheruel, (4 vols., Paris, 1858) II, 279, III, 16-17. (This château, located mid-way between Loches and Châteauroux on the Indre river, which at this point is only some twenty feet wide, was built in 1234 by Jean Savary. Frontenac inherited it from his uncle, Roger Buade, abbé d'Angles, who had purchased it in 1624 from Paul Couhé de Lusignan. With its four heavy square towers, its moat and drawbridge, it has a distinctly mediaeval appearance. In the summer of 1952 the exterior of the château was still in excellent condition, but the interior was a shambles. For a good many years it has been used for storing grain, cattle feed, farm implements, and for stabling horses; pigs and poultry inhabit its moat and cellars. In 1945 a French infantry regiment was quartered in the château for some months. The usual consequences of military occupation are very apparent).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 279.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 16-17.

²¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fo. Factum 2505. Extrait des registres de Parlement. Homologation de contrat passé entre Louis de Buade-Frontenac comte de Palluau, et ses créanciers. 12 décembre 1664.

²² Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Series France, Mémoires et Documents, vol. MDXCVI, 349-350. De Neufville à Chavigny, Paris, 25 April 1649.

he tied up the sizable fortune left his daughter by her mother and prevented Frontenac touching any part of it.²³

Frontenac then joined the entourage of Gaston d'Orléans, who had the reputation of being the most treacherous man in France, and Madame Frontenac obtained the position of lady in waiting to Gaston's daughter, Mademoiselle de Montpensier. When Gaston was not engaged in plots against the King and betraying his fellow conspirators, he indulged his predilection by scheming to deprive his daughter of the lands left her by Henri IV.²⁴ It was not long before la Grande Mademoiselle discovered that the Frontenacs were intriguing against her in her father's interests.²⁵ Madame Frontenac was promptly dismissed from her post.²⁶

The Frontenacs then took up residence in their Paris house in the rue des Tournelles²⁷ and when Mademoiselle de Montpensier was reinstated at the Court,²⁸ they went out of their way to cause her as much petty annoyance as they could, so much so that Mademoiselle tried to have them barred from the Court, but without success owing to the intervention of Gaston d'Orléans.²⁹ Eventually, their continued annoyance of Mademoiselle became so flagrant that Mazarin had to intervene and appeal to the Queen Mother to put a stop to it.³⁰

By this time Frontenac was in dire financial straits. In 1653 he had been obliged to relinquish his colonelcy of the régiment de Normandie.³¹ He and his wife were living well beyond their means, borrowing money and running up bills on all sides, and by 1664 their debts amounted to something over 325,878 *livres*, plus 17,530 *livres* 16 *sols* 10 *deniers* in accrued interest.³² Needless to say, Frontenac's creditors were pressing him hard but he was singularly adept at fending off their demands. Finally, in September 1664, after lengthy discussions with one group of his creditors, a contract was drawn up whereby they agreed not to dun him during the ensuing four years so that he could arrange his affairs and dispose of his properties at reasonable figures rather than throw them all on the market at once. He agreed to pay 11,268 *livres* 9 *sols* 2 *deniers* a year interest and that the amounts realized on the sale of his assets would be used for no other purpose than the discharging of his debts, all of which were to be settled in full within four years. Frontenac also pledged himself that he would not, under any circumstances, obtain "Lettres d'État et de

²³ *Ibid.*, 367-368, De Neufville à Chavigny, (Paris) 12 May 1649: MDXCII, 42-43, Frontenac à Chavigny, Paris, 26 July 1649: 284, Chavigny à de Neufville, 20 June 1650: 292-293, De Neufville à Chavigny, Paris, 28 June 1650: 341-342, De Neufville à (Chavigny), Paris, 25 September 1650.

²⁴ *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, II, 423, III, 16-17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 423, III, 16-17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 83-84.

²⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fo. Factum 2505. Extrait des Registres de Parlement.

²⁸ Mademoiselle de Montpensier had been exiled from the Court for taking too active a part in the Fronde on behalf of Condé and the anti-Mazarin faction.

²⁹ *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, III, chapters 31, 32, *passim*.

³⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert, LIIA, 200, Mazarin à la Reine, Calais, 23 August 1658.

³¹ *Historique des corps des troupes de l'armée*, (Paris, Ministère de la Guerre, 1900) 19.

³² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fo. Factum 2505. Extrait des Registres de Parlement.

répit" in order to break the terms of the agreement. On December 12th, 1664, this notarial contract was homologated by the Parlement de Paris.³³

However, despite his having received such accommodating terms, Frontenac completely dishonoured them. He made no attempt to realize on his assets in order to repay the principal of his debts, nor did he pay his creditors a single *denier* of the interest.³⁴ As one of this long suffering group later phrased it: "On luy a acordé des delais de toutes sortes de trois et de quatre années durant lesquels on s'incommodoit pour l'accomoder et pour luy donner le loisir de mettre a ses affaires, et il a tousjours manquées aux paroles qu'il avoit données de telles sortes qu'on ne pouvait plus s'y fier."³⁵

Some eight months later Frontenac left for Crete to join the Venetian forces defending the island against the Turks. Parkman states that a Venetian embassy, in pleading for aid in Crete, "offered to place their own troops under French command, and they asked Turenne to name a general officer equal to the task. Frontenac had the signal honour of being chosen by the first soldier of Europe for this arduous and most difficult position. He went accordingly. The result increased his reputation for ability and courage"³⁶

In making this statement Parkman was greatly misled. There is no evidence that the Venetians offered to place their own troops under French command; Frontenac was not chosen by Turenne for any such mythical position³⁷ and his actions in Crete certainly did not enhance his reputation in any way.

The French forces were under the separate command of the duc de Navailles³⁸ and Frontenac, although he sailed with them, was not a member of this army for he had somehow obtained the post of Lieutenant-General with the Venetian forces commanded by Captain-General Francesco Morosini. The Venetians already had one French officer, the marquis de St. André Montbrun, serving on their general staff;³⁹ why they accepted the services of another is not clear, unless it was that Louis XIV insisted on it in order the better to keep a close check on the Venetian high command. Subsequent events might lead one to suspect that this was perhaps the case. Nor is it at all clear why Frontenac was chosen. There is always the possibility that he was regarded as the best man available, but his influence at the Court

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert, CDIX, 294-295, M. Verjus à Colbert, Cologne, 21 May 1672.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.* (Works, Frontenac Edition, Toronto, 1899) VIII, 13.

³⁷ Turenne's only connection with Frontenac's appointment was to make certain suggestions as to changes which Frontenac desired made in the terms of his commission. Later, in his defence before the Doge and Senate of Venice, Frontenac made much of the fact that Turenne had written these suggested changes in his own hand in the margin of the commission. Had Turenne selected Frontenac for the post it is inconceivable, under the circumstances, that Frontenac would not have laid great stress on this point in his defence. But he did not make any such claim.

³⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, XMMMCLXV, Relation de Candie: Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, VII-2, 301.

³⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions, XXMMCXLIV, 300-305, Le Roy de la Potherye au comte de Maurepas, (December 1698).

was sufficient to obtain him the post, of which he certainly stood in dire need. One of his erstwhile friends, the comte de Crécy, French ambassador at Cologne, later remarked that Frontenac had obtained the commission purely in order to evade his creditors.⁴⁰

But whatever the reason for his appointment, immediately upon receipt of his commission he demanded that the terms of service be altered.⁴¹ The commission was couched in the usual rather general terms, but one of its clauses stated that Frontenac would hold the rank of Lieutenant-General and be subordinate to the *Representans Venetiens*, the marquis de St. André Montbrun and the officers holding the rank of general.⁴² Frontenac objected strenuously to this; and here he received the support of Turenne. He demanded that he be treated as subordinate only to the *Representans Venetiens* and the marquis de St. André, and that he be given his own separate command. He also demanded that his two aides-de-camp be put on the Venetian establishment and a fully manned barque placed at his disposal to transport his supplies. The Venetian ambassador in Paris sent these demands to the Senate but Frontenac did not wait for the revisions to be made; he left for Crete armed only with a letter from the ambassador to the general in command of the Venetian forces stating that the revision had been requested and asking this general to honour them.⁴³

However, Francesco Morosini was not at all impressed by this letter and even less so by Frontenac. Troops from many European nations were serving under his command and Frontenac wasted no time in quarreling with the other general officers. He became highly incensed when Morosini refused to order the comte de Valdeck and his troops to obey his commands; he was even more enraged when Morosini excluded him from the council of war. Eventually he was granted access to the meetings of this council, whereupon he immediately became embroiled in a squabble with another general, monsieur de Spar, as to who was to have precedence.⁴⁴

At this time relations between the French and Venetian forces were far from cordial. The campaign was not going well and recriminations between the allies grew more bitter.⁴⁵ Finally, after being severely mauled by the Turks, the French decided to withdraw their forces from the island, leaving the Venetians no recourse but to ask for terms.⁴⁶ A few days before the French withdrew, a meeting of the principal Venetian officers was held at the headquarters of one of their commanders, General Bataille. At this meeting the assembled officers

⁴⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert, CDIX, 294-295, Verjus à Colbert, Cologne, 21 May 1672.

⁴¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions, XXMMCXLIV, 300-305, Le Roy de la Potherye au comte de Maurepas, (December 1698).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Morel de Thoisy, DII, 143-149, Plainte et Justification de Mr. le comte de frontenac au Doge et Senat de Venice contre Mr. le Capitaine Generale Morosini commandant dans cette isle. 1669.

⁴⁵ Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, VII-2, 301.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* (When Louis XIV learned that his troops had quit the island he promptly ordered that when they arrived at Toulon they were immediately to re-embark and return to Crete, this time under the command of the maréchal de Bellefonds. The Venetians capitulated before this could be effected).

expressed their feelings very forcibly on the subject. Some harsh phrases were uttered and General Bataille was reputed to have said that it would be more correct to say that the French were fleeing from the field rather than withdrawing.

Word of this somehow reached the ears of the intendant of the French army and at a joint council of war held three days later, he accused General Bataille of having insulted the honour of the French army. He threatened to report this, and other incidents of a like nature which had been brought to his attention, to Louis XIV who, he claimed, would most assuredly demand satisfaction from the Venetian Senate. The incident was eventually smoothed over, but it was quite obvious that someone who had been at the earlier council of war had carried these tales to the intendant. Captain-General Morosini became convinced that this person was Frontenac.

Shortly afterwards, when Frontenac put in a request for a payment of two or three hundred *pistoles* on his salary, he was curtly informed that the Captain-General had ordered not only that he was to be paid only a mere two hundred *piastres*, but also that his two aides-de-camp were to be stricken off the establishment. This dismayed Frontenac, particularly since none of the other officers of field rank had been deprived of their aides-de-camp. He immediately went to the Captain-General's headquarters and, according to his version of events, politely requested Morosini to revise his orders in these matters. But Morosini refused to do anything of the sort and dismissed Frontenac's request out of hand.

Messieurs de Spar and Kiemansueck and several other officers entered the room at this point and in front of them Frontenac complained at being treated in such a shabby fashion. Morosini sharply retorted that far from that being the case he had received much better treatment than he deserved and accused him point blank of having betrayed the secrecy of the council of war to the intendant. Frontenac denied this vehemently and was brusquely ordered out of the room by Morosini. Frontenac replied that he would leave in his own good time, then beat a hasty retreat to escape being forcibly ejected by Morosini's guards. A few hours later he was relieved of his military duties and the following day he received his dismissal from the Venetian forces. He left the island the following morning.⁴⁷

Five months later, on February 7th, 1670, Frontenac made an appearance, with considerable *éclat*, before the Doge and Senate of the Republic to answer the charges brought against him by Morosini. In so appearing he apparently had three main objects in view; to justify his actions in Crete; to obtain payment of the four hundred and fifty *ducats* a month salary mentioned in his original commission; and to be retained in the Venetian service. In his defence he presented a lengthy memoir narrating all that had transpired in Crete between Morosini and himself. Much of it consists of an attack on Morosini's military abilities and an extolment of his own; but in answer to what appears to have been the principal charge against him, namely, that he had reported General Bataille's remarks to the intendant of the French

⁴⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Morel de Thoisy, DII, 143-149, *Plainte et Justification de Mr. le comte de frontenac au Doge et Senat de Venice contre Mr. le Capitaine Generale Morosini commandant dans cette isle. 1669.*

forces, he asserted that the intendent had been informed of what had been said at this council meeting before he, Frontenac, had even left the chamber, thus it could not have been he who had betrayed the secrecy of the council.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the reception which this defence received from the Doge and Senate is not known. However, there was at this time a group in Venice who were extremely critical of Morosini, claiming that he had "obtained his procuratorship in an irregular manner and that he had been guilty of corrupt practices in Candia."⁴⁹ These charges were debated in the Senate and it may be that Frontenac's criticisms of Morosini formed part of this organized attempt to discredit the Captain-General. If this were so then it proved to be a most signal failure. As one historian puts it "the Great Council marked its appreciation of the movement and of the great man, whose character it was intended to traduce, when it acquitted Morosini by a majority amounting to a censure of his accusers."⁵⁰ In the light of this, it does not seem likely that Frontenac received a very sympathetic reception from the Doge and Senate, and from purely negative evidence it does not appear that Frontenac was reinstated in the Venetian service.

Nothing is known of Frontenac's activities during the next three years, except that his creditors finally succeeded in seizing his properties.⁵¹ However, they were soon frustrated once more when, in the spring of 1672, Frontenac's friends obtained for him the post of governor of New France.⁵² Although in 1664 he had solemnly pledged himself not to do so, he now obtained *Lettres du Conseil d'Etat* lifting the seizure that had been placed on his properties and deferring his legal obligation to repay his debts.⁵³ The comte de Crécy, who had loaned Frontenac 6,300 *livres* fourteen years earlier⁵⁴ and was now being hard pressed by his own creditors, protested strongly to Colbert at this injustice, stating:

. . . je dois sur le sujet de ses debtes luy rendre ce témoignage que jamais créanciers n'ont eu plus de bonne foy de douceur et d'honnesté envers un débiteur n'y a plus mal répondu, ou plus tot n'en a plus abusé . . . Il fit en partie par sa propre autorité en allant en Candie il y a deux ans ce qu'il fait aujourd'hui par un arrest du Conseil d'Etat, et il prit des lors comme il prend maintenant tous les moiens pour achever de se ruiner soy mesme en ruinant ses créanciers et en les frustant de ce qu'il leur doit.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ W. Carew Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic; its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall*, 421-1797. (2 vols., London, 1900) II, 270.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 270, 280-281.

⁵¹ Châteauroux, Departmental Archives, Indre-et-Loire, Series E, dossier 13, Chartriers du Comté de Palluau. Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 23 February 1678.

⁵² *Mémoires de St. Simon*, XIV, 268-271.

⁵³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert, CDIX, 294-295, M. Verjus au Ministre, Cologne, 21 May 1672: Châteauroux, Departmental Archives, Indre-et-Loire, Series E, dossier 13, Chartriers du Comté de Palluau. Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 23 February 1678.

⁵⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Series fo. Factum 2505, Extrait des registres de parlement. Homologation de contrat passé entre Louis Buade, comte de Palluau et ses créanciers. 12 December 1664.

⁵⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert, CDIX, 294-295, M. Verjus au Ministre, Cologne, 21 May 1672.

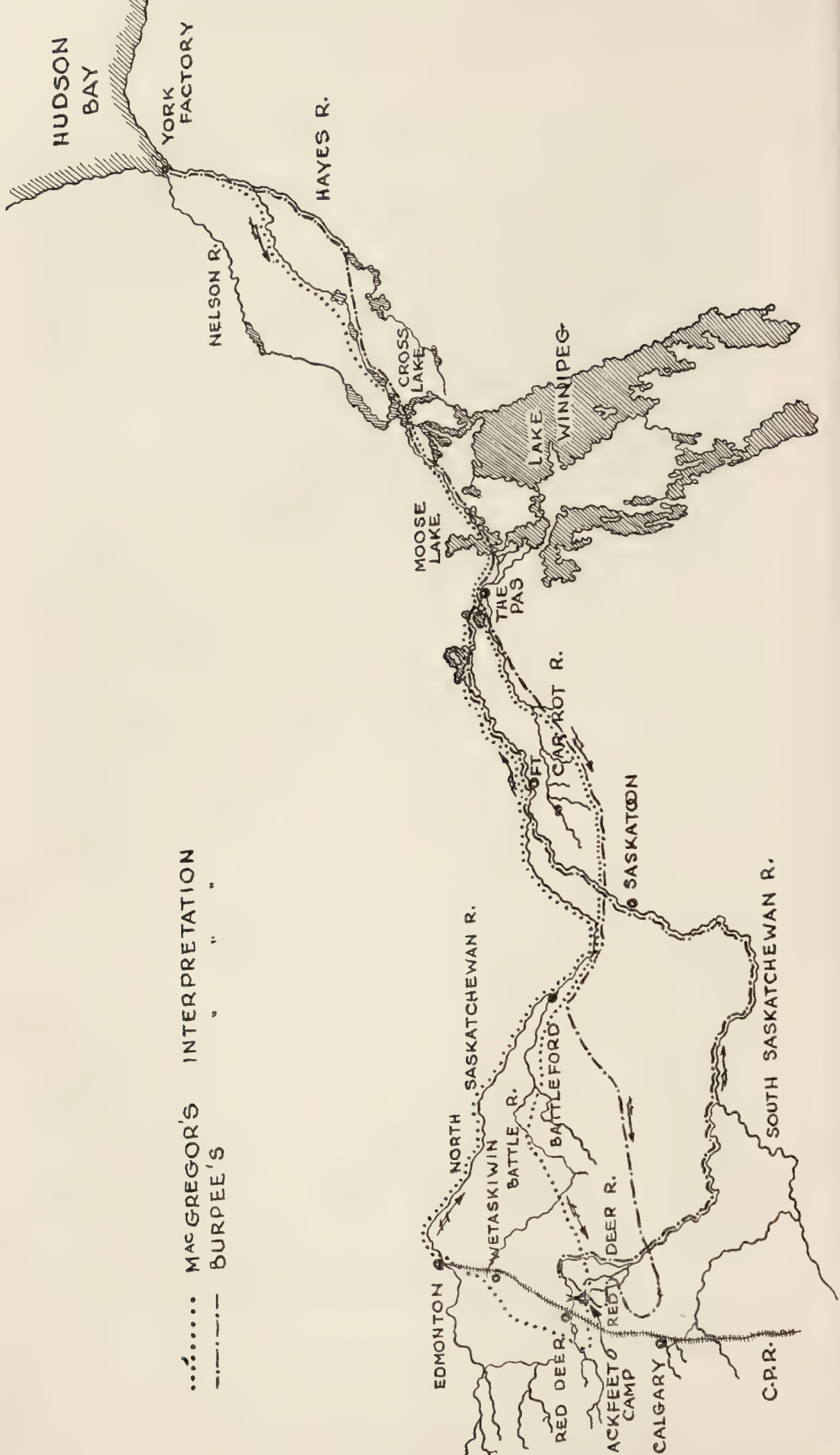
No social stigma, however, was attached to Frontenac's bankrupt condition; nor were the means he used to defraud his creditors looked at askance, except by those whom he had defrauded. In fact, the comte de Cr cy, outraged though he was by Frontenac's actions, two years later himself obtained an *Arr t du Conseil d'Etat* to prevent his own creditors from seizing certain of his properties.⁵⁶

This, then, was the background of the man selected to govern Canada. By quitting France, Frontenac had found a temporary solution to his most pressing problems, but he could not rid himself of those traits in his character which were the basic cause of his difficulties.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Paris, Biblioth que Nationale, M langes Colbert, CDXVII, 353, M. Verjus au Ministre, Berlin, 20 February 1674.

⁵⁷ The second part of this paper, as presented to the Association, will appear as an article in the *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1955.

..... MACGREGOR'S
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ACROSS THE PRAIRIES TWO CENTURIES AGO

By CLIFFORD WILSON
Hudson's Bay Company

TWO HUNDRED years ago this month, Anthony Henday of the Hudson's Bay Company set out from York Factory to cross the prairies into the country of the Blackfoot Indians. His journey proved to be a remarkable one, of some 2000 miles, during which he became the first white man to penetrate the plains beyond the forks of the Saskatchewan, and the first to see the Rocky Mountains.

So far, two serious attempts have been made to trace that journey. The first was made by Lawrence J. Burpee, when in 1907 he read a paper to the Royal Society of Canada that was published in 1908. The second was made by Arthur S. Morton, and the condensed results of his research are to be found in his *History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*.

This paper constitutes the third such attempt. In preparing it, I have enjoyed certain advantages not available to Dr. Burpee or Prof. Morton. One was the use of aerial maps of the whole area through which Henday passed. Another was the field research on Henday's route from Saskatoon west, recently carried out by James G. MacGregor, president of the Historical Society of Alberta. And a third, available to Morton but not to Burpee, was access to two other versions of Henday's journal, not yet printed, which, with the published version, are to be found in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Henday's own journal has been lost. The three versions of it that have survived have all been heavily edited — as is evident from the fact that they constantly disagree with each other. The version I shall call A is the familiar published one, to which reference has already been made. It was copied by Miller Christy in 1895 from the latest of the three in the Company's Archives, and deposited in the Public Archives of Canada. The original of it is contained in a volume, *Observations on Hudson's Bay*, written by Andrew Graham and dated about 1790.

Version B is apparently the official one, a fair copy sent by the chief at York Fort, James Isham, to London, for the information of the Governor and Committee, and for that reason toned down somewhat so that it would be fit to be read by them.

Version C is contained in an earlier copy of Graham's *Observations* dated about 1767-9, and is also in Graham's handwriting.

I have suggested that the two unpublished versions were of considerable help in tracing Henday's route. But actually they have confused the issue, and without Mr. MacGregor's careful field observations, this paper would be able to add very little that is new to the subject. In trying to follow a route taken by an inexperienced and unscientific explorer, 200 years ago, through completely unknown country, and set down in three widely differing versions, one needs a knowledge of the country through which he passed. And in this respect I should be totally unfitted for the task in hand, were it not for

Mr. MacGregor's detailed notes with which he has generously supplied me.

The eastern part of the journey, between York Factory and Saskatoon, will be touched upon only lightly, partly through ignorance of the country, and partly because, the more one tries to follow Henday along the tortuous rivers and over the primitive portages, the more one becomes mired in uncertainty.

It was on June 26th, 1754, that Henday set out with a party of Cree Indians for the Far West. The natives he travelled with were trading Indians — that is, Indians who were middlemen, like the Ottawas — who bought furs from the prairie tribes and sold them to the white men on the coast of Hudson Bay.

The copy of Isham's instructions to Henday preserved in the Company's archives reads in part: "Having procured a trusty home Indian Connawapa by Name, for your Companion. you are to proceed with him to the Keischachewon, Missinnee pee, Earchithinue, Esinepoet, or any other Country Indians, that we have not as yet any traffick with; and that you may converse with them, making them presents, perswading them to be at peace, and not to Warr . . . but to hunt and gett goods, and bring them to the fort

"You having a compass, hand Line paper &c, &c, along with you, therefore be Very Exact in Keeping a Journal of your travels and observations Daily, . . . mind to Remark Down Every thing that occurs to your View Daily."

These Archithinues were evidently members of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Of the others mentioned, the Keischachewon were obviously those who lived along the banks of the Saskatchewan, the Missinnee pee were the Indians of the Churchill River, and the Esinepoet were of course the Assiniboine.

Six days after he had left York Fort Henday wrote to Isham from "Desolation Fall". Dr. Burpee gave it as his opinion that Henday was on the Hayes River when he wrote, but when he did his research in 1907 the mapping of that part of the country was still very imperfect, while the distances, and especially the directions, that Henday gives in his journal are often impossible to reconcile with modern air maps.

But two features Henday describes show that he did not follow the later, well-known route from York Factory to the West by way of Oxford Lake and Lake Winnipeg. First, on June 29th, he passed four large falls in one day. On the Steel River (now named Fox River) there are four waterfalls within a day's travel. This is true of no other river in this area. Attick Lake is the second feature. From the last fall, where he appears to have camped on June 29th, to the entrance of Attick Lake (spelt on modern maps Utik) the canoeist travels in a southwesterly direction. Henday took a week to travel this distance, which he sets down as 153 miles, travelling the first 80 miles northwest and the last 73 west and south. This is far from agreeing with either the distances or the directions of the Fox and Bigstone Rivers, but there is no other way by which he could reasonably have travelled to reach his destination.

From Attick Lake he appears to have travelled via Cross Lake, then Minago River and Moose Lake to the Saskatchewan. While he

was on his way from Moose Lake to the Saskatchewan, Henday wrote another letter to Isham dated July 9th — obviously a mistake for 19th — of which the following is an extract:

. . . We are got near 300 Miles up this Country, and the Indians last Night inform'd Me that we should see a French Factory in 3 Days more, and that We must go by it, before We can go their Country I dont very well like it, having nothing to Satisfy Them on what account I am going up the Country and Very possibly they may suspect Me to be a Spy, but I will Face them with a good Countenance let it be how it will, for as I am gone that Farr, if it please God, Will see the Farthest end of all Their Country, as I can if the French do not stop Me, as I don't doubt but they will be very Inquisitive about it I shall say nothing at all to them (if they cannot talk English) and then I will give them a civil Lye . . . I wish your Honrs. Health, and if the French should shoot me, I have nothing to lay to Your Honrs. Charge.

On July 22nd, they came to the first French post. His meeting with its inmates, who threatened to detain him, is described in the published version of his journal. A more frank description, however, is found in Version B which Morton gives in his *History of the West*, p. 245.

Henday smoothed his way out of the post of Basquia by sending the Frenchmen two feet of tobacco, and continued westward without further interruption. On August 13th, he wrote: "We are now entered Muscuty plains, and shall soon see plenty of Buffalo, and the Archithinue Indians hunting them on horseback." That word "Muscuty" raises another problem. Here it obviously means the true prairie. In the same version of the journal — that is, Version A — he writes on October 29th: "Left Muscuty plains, which I have been in since the 13th Aug." And in version C he says much the same thing, adding: "The Indians calls the Archithinue Country by another name, which is *Arsinee Watchee* (i.e. dry Country)." But in Version B he writes on that day that he took his departure not from the Muscuty Plains but from *Arsinie Watchee*.

Now as any student of the Cree language knows, *assini* means stone or rock, and *watchee* a hill or mountain, while *Assinee Watchee* is definitely the Rocky Mountains — not "dry country" at all. The entries for December 24th only add to the confusion. Version A, says: "On a rising ground I had an extensive view of the Muscuty country which will be the last this trip inland." Version B says: "I had a fine prospect of Muscuty or *Arsinee Warchee* country . . . this will be the last time I shall see that delightful country this trip inland." While Version C says: "I had a fine view of *Arsinee Watchee* att a farr distance, it being the last sight that I shall ever have of it this year."

Version B, in other words, suggests that Muscuty and *Arsinee Watchee* are synonymous — in other words, that the plains and the Rockies are the same thing. Version C is the only one that makes sense to modern readers.

This comparison shows the difficulties of reconciling the three versions of Henday's journal as they apply to certain given days. But even greater confusion results when the researcher tries to reconcile distances and directions. These distances are not only vague: they also

appear to have been altered by the copyists, possibly in the light of later knowledge. The Governor and Committee put it concisely when, on May 12th, 1756, they wrote to Isham: "We apprehend Henday is not very expert in making Drafts with Accuracy or keeping a just Reckoning of distance other than by guess which may prove erroneous." Perhaps that is why, in the two unpublished versions, the distances travelled are often shown *double* those of the published version, and the lines of march are also changed from time to time.

Mr. MacGregor, who, as I mentioned a few minutes ago, has travelled the route he believes Henday to have taken, from Saskatoon westwards, has carefully studied the published version and also the changes made to it by versions B and C. His findings differ sharply from those of Burpee, and in many respects from those of Morton, and the historian who is concerned with Henday's actual route will find them well worth studying in detail. Here, unfortunately, we can only show them on the accompanying map in comparison with those of Burpee.

The three people who have studied Henday's route across the plains all agree that on his outward journey he crossed the South Saskatchewan river at a point just north of the present city of Saskatoon. All three authorities are also pretty well in agreement on his route as far as a point south of the present Battleford. But from that locality Burpee has him turn sharply southwest, while Morton and MacGregor believe he continued northwest and west "along the southern edge of the wooded valley of the Battle River". After that, Burpee's identification of his route differs sharply from those of the two others.

On September 20th they came to a camp of Assiniboines, from whom Henday bought a horse, not to ride, but to carry his provisions and baggage. Before they crossed the Battle River again, while they were in camp on October 1st, they met the first group of Blackfeet they had come so far to find — seven tents of them, on horseback, and armed with bows and arrows, and bone spears and darts.

Henday's party crossed the Red Deer river, according to Mr. MacGregor, near Foxall Lake on October 11th, and two days later seven more Blackfeet rode up, to tell them that they would come to the great camp on the following day.

The camp consisted of about 200 tents pitched in two rows. At one end was the teepee of the head chief, large enough to contain fifty people. The chief received them, seated on a clean (not "clear" as the Burpee version has it) buffalo skin, and attended by 20 elders. The bearded Henday was probably the first white man that the chief had seen, and for this reason, no doubt, the great man asked him to sit down at his right hand. First, several "grand pipes" were passed round, without a word being spoken. Then boiled buffalo meat was circulated in grass baskets, and the Englishman was presented with a dozen tongues.

Next day, October 15th, Henday was again invited to the chief's teepee.

"By an interpreter," he wrote, "I told him what I was sent for, & desired of him to allow some of his young men to go down to the Fort with me,

where they would be kindly received, and get guns &c. But he answered, it was far off, & they could not live without Buffalo flesh; and that they could not leave their horses &c: and many other obstacles, though all might be got over if they were acquainted with a Canoe, and could eat Fish, which they never do. The Chief further said that they never wanted food, as they followed the Buffalo and killed them with the Bows and Arrows; and he was informed the Natives that frequented the Settlements, were oftentimes starved on their journey. Such remarks," added Henday, "I thought exceeding true."

That, then, was virtually an end to the matter. He left some trade goods with the chief, and later went buffalo hunting with some of the young men. But it was plain to him that the Blackfeet had no intention of making that long, hard journey to the sea and back that he himself had only *half* completed after *16 weeks'* travel.

From the camp which he locates about 18 miles southeast of the city of Red Deer, Mr. MacGregor believes that Henday travelled west, passing what is now the Calgary-Edmonton line of the C.P.R. at about Innisfail, and going on to within a few miles of the Clearwater river, at which point he turned north and northeast.

Somewhere about here he must have had his first sight of the Rocky Mountains — and yet he does not even mention them. Of course the Indians would have told him about them. No white man ever discovered anything above ground in this country that had not already been seen by the natives. But one would have thought that a sight as magnificent as the snowy Rockies on a clear fall day would at least have inspired some comment from the first white man to see them. It is quite possible, of course, that his original journal, which was lost, contained some remarks on the scenery, and that Isham or some other wretched editor deleted them, as being too frivolous to be read by the august Governor and Committee in London. The fact remains that only once, on December 24th, does Henday refer to the mountains. Even then we are not absolutely certain that it is the Rockies he is talking about.

Henday's Crees were now back in their own hunting grounds, and during the months of November and December 1754 and January 1755 they wandered around in the country west of the present Innisfail and Red Deer, hunting for the wherewithal to sustain life and make it pleasant. They had arranged a rendezvous with other Indians not far from what is now Edmonton, and about mid-January they began to move towards it in a leisurely fashion.

On the evening of February 27th, they camped at Archithinue Lake, which Henday describes as "one mile broad and a good day's journey in length". Mr. MacGregor finds this lake easy to identify as "a long, narrow depression occupied by a chain of lakes starting with Saunders Lake and running through Ord Lake and one or two other lakes south of that, and ending in Coal Lake. There is no alternative to this."

Dr. Burpee, however, had an alternative. Henday's description, he says, clearly identifies this long, narrow body of water as Devil's Pine or Ghostpine Lake, some 80 miles due south, where Mr. MacGregor contends the great Blackfoot camp was situated. But Ghostpine Lake is only *four* miles long—which is hardly a good day's journey.

Proceeding in a northeasterly direction, Henday's party appears to have bypassed the site of modern Edmonton, some five miles east of the present city limits, crossed to the far side of the North Saskatchewan, and continued along the valley to camp on the night of March 5th slightly downstream from the mouth of the Sturgeon or Tea river. "This area along the North Saskatchewan," writes Mr. MacGregor, "has been a favorite camping place for hundreds of generations of primitive people. It is doubtful if there is any place in Alberta where it is easier to find such a great quantity and variety of primitive artifacts."

"There is no doubt in my mind," he continues, "that Henday and his Indians were now camping near the mouth of the Sturgeon This was the rendezvous of which the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had heard so much when, fifty years later, they established Forts Augustus and Edmonton at that spot."

From March 5th to April 28th the party stayed in that one camp, going out to hunt by day, and making canoes for the voyage to York Factory. Mr. MacGregor is definitely of the opinion that Henday went home by way of the North Saskatchewan, and so is Prof. Morton. Dr. Burpee on the other hand believed that he didn't go north of Lacombe, and paddled home by way of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan.

As they went down the river, bands of Indians joined them for the trip to York Factory, or to trade their furs to the Indians who were making the whole journey. Henday again did his best to persuade the "Archithinues" to come down to the Bay, but they refused. He was disgusted that his own Indians, who had promised Isham they would try and persuade the Blackfeet to come, never opened their mouths on the subject when the time came. "I have great reason to believe," wrote Henday in his diary, "that they are a stoppage; for if they [that is, the Blackfeet] could be brought down to trade, the others [the Crees] would be obliged to trap their own furs; which at present two-thirds of them do not."

By the time they came to the last band of Blackfeet, where he met the chief of the first great camp, his party numbered 60 canoes. Two days later they came to the first French fort, an outpost of Basquia, where the men from Montreal proceeded to get Henday's Indians drunk on brandy and then traded from them about a thousand of their prime winter furs.

Five days later they came down to Basquia, where the process was repeated. Henday was convinced that if they only had Brazil tobacco they would cut off the English trade entirely. By the time he and his party got away, four days after arrival, about all they had to take to York Fort were the heavy skins that the French would not take on the long grind to Montreal.

With seventy canoes the Englishman at last set out for home, secure from further molestation. On the first three days he paddled 130 miles in a general northeasterly direction, and found himself in Christinaux or Monoko Lake. The distance between Monoko and Deer Lake, according to his previous year's record, was only 38 miles.

But this time he travelled 150 miles, *plus four days* paddling in lakes large and small, in deep rivers and shallow rocky streams, before reaching Deer Lake.

The reason for this long detour is hard to determine. With 70 loaded canoes, why should he and his Indian friends go wandering all over the countryside for ten days instead of going straight on to York Factory? For eight of the ten days they kept on the move. About the only reason for such apparently unnecessary travel I can think of is that Henday was looking for a place to put an inland post — a project very dear to the heart of his chief, James Isham. But it is hard to imagine seventy — or even twenty — canoes full of Indians and furs following him around while he looked for one.

Going home by the same route he had used to reach Attick Lake the year before, he finally arrived at York Factory on June 23rd, having been absent a full year all except three days.

Today Henday's first western trip is recognized, to use the words of Morton, as "one of the most astonishing journeys in the astonishing history of the fur trade of the Northwest".

DISCUSSION

F. G. Roe discussed the problems of ascertaining distance from early accounts. He said that England was still under the influence of the medieval concept of miles at Henday's time, which was about $\frac{1}{2}$ the modern mile. We must make allowance for this in determining Henday's route. He pointed out the effect of heavy rainfall and droughts upon lakes and sloughs in various areas. This complicated identification of lakes by size. *R. G. Glover* said that Henday speaks of the Indians making canoes. How far south in Alberta was the white birch available? He suggested that Henday did not determine the route; that Henday's Indians would determine the route and he had to go with them. This added to the difficulties in ascertaining Henday's route. *F. G. Roe* said that white birch grew on the Red Deer River but not further south. *R. G. H. Cormack* said that white birch could be found occasionally among the poplars south of Red Deer town at present. He said that there were quite large birch trees north of Edmonton and in the vicinity of Lesser Slave Lake.

LE ROI DU NORD ET SA SUITE FRANCAISE A WINNIPEG EN 1885

LEOPOLD LAMONTAGNE
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Le 19 février 1885, l'abbé François Xavier Antoine Labelle, curé de Saint-Jérôme (Qué.), quittait Montréal pour Halifax où, deux jours plus tard, il s'embarquait pour l'Europe en compagnie de son secrétaire, l'abbé Jean Baptiste Proulx.

Quelques jours auparavant, il avait écrit à son grand ami, le père Eugène Prévost: "Je suis chargé par le gouvernement d'Ottawa d'aller chercher dans les vieux pays de bons colons pour notre Nord-Ouest canadien." ¹

L'initiative de cette mission, d'après le texte précité, a l'air de venir du gouvernement fédéral. Mais, n'en croyons rien. C'est le curé Labelle qui a soumis un projet à l'honorable John Henry Pope, ministre de l'Agriculture. Il lui propose d'aller en France, en Belgique et en Suisse faire du recrutement. Il désire consolider l'entreprise du Pacifique, à laquelle il a tant travaillé, en bordant de colons la ligne de chemin de fer. De plus, en 1879, Mgr Taché lui a demandé de lui aider à peupler l'Ouest canadien. Il emporte même dans ses documents une lettre de recommandation de l'archevêque de Saint-Boniface.

Il projette de faire des conférences, "d'inviter les habitants du vieux monde à venir se greffer avec nous sur le tronc britannique." ² De plus, par l'entremise de son secrétaire, il publiera des brochures qui, en chantant les avantages du Canada, chercheront à attirer des immigrants, des capitaux, des établissements commerciaux et des industries. Enfin, il tentera d'organiser une délégation composée d'hommes représentatifs de ces pays du vieux monde; il en attend des résultats inestimables.

Ce vaste territoire du Nord-Ouest découvert par des Français, il voudrait le voir habité par des Français. Mais, "pour nous Canadiens, réduits à nos seules forces, la tâche est trop lourde. Nous avons tant à faire! Nous avons à nous maintenir dans Québec, à nous fortifier dans Ontario et au Manitoba, à reprendre en Acadie le rang qui nous est disputé, à assurer notre situation dans le Nord des Etats Unis . . ." ³

C'est pour toutes ces raisons que le curé Labelle a demandé et obtenu d'être envoyé en Europe. Il reçoit \$1500 du ministère de l'Agriculture ainsi qu'un billet aller et retour.

Mais qui est donc ce curé, délégué d'un gouvernement protestant vers la France radicale de Zola, de Taine, de Hugo? Tout le monde au pays l'appelle le Roi du Nord. Au physique, il a la force d'un Charlemagne, moins la barbe fleurie. Il mesure plus de six pieds et pèse 333 livres. Il est si lourd que son camarade de cabine, à bord

¹ Lettre Labelle à Prévost, 11 février 1885. Citée par Auclair, abbé Elie, *Le curé Labelle* (Montréal, 1930), 70.

² Lettre Labelle à Pope, janvier 1885, *Ibid.*, 150.

³ *Le Nord* (journal de S.-Jérôme), 19 février 1885.

du *Circassian*, refuse d'occuper la couchette du bas si le curé monte au-dessus de lui.

Ce n'est sûrement pas un roi d'opérette. C'est un véritable conquérant. Son armée, c'est la foule des colons qu'il attire à sa suite et qu'il conduit à l'assaut de la forêt et des broussailles. Il travaille sans relâche. Il a fondé plus de 60 paroisses et il avance si vite que les arpenteurs du gouvernement peuvent à peine suivre sa marche. "Je mettrai des colons à la place de toutes les épinettes de la région du Nord et je ferai surgir des villes en pleine forêt." Il se fait tour à tour bûcheron, cultivateur, instituteur, pêcheur de truites et pêcheur d'âmes. Partout il est à l'aise, sous la chaumière du colon, comme dans les châteaux des grands de la terre. Secourable, il l'est jusqu'au dépouillement de tous ses revenus, si bien qu'un jour des créanciers font saisir ses effets, vite rachetés cependant par Prévost, un catholique, et Scott, un protestant qui, comme tout le monde, l'appelle son "curé". A l'égard de la religion, il est assez large. Il prend à son service, à titre de propagandiste, l'esprit le plus libéral du temps au Canada: Arthur Buies. On proteste rudement dans son entourage et lui alors de répondre: "Les hommes de grand talent sont si rares qu'il faut bien être miséricordieux sur les peccadilles . . . On a pitié des simples, penses-tu qu'on n'aura pas soin des gens d'esprit?"⁴

Son palais est l'humble presbytère de bois de Saint-Jérôme, où tous les visiteurs de l'étranger et du pays s'arrêtent. Il s'en présente de toutes les sortes: des franco-maçons notoires comme le multimillionnaire Lucien Bonaparte Wyse, des radicaux comme les géographes Reclus et Cortambert; des ultramontains comme le baron de Charette; des politiciens libéraux, conservateurs et nationaux: Sir John Macdonald le félicite des services rendus au Pacifique; Sir John Abbott déclare que "s'il n'était pas prêtre, il mériterait d'être l'un des directeurs de la puissante compagnie du Pacifique Canadien," Mercier en fera son sous-ministre de la colonisation. Aucun député au Parlement fédéral ou provincial ne peut aborder le problème de l'agriculture, de la colonisation ou de l'émigration sans faire obligatoirement l'éloge du curé Labelle. Sir G. E. Cartier, Sir Charles Tupper, Alonzo Wright, Chapleau, Mercier et nombre d'autres chantent ses mérites en chambre. Au cours des élections, aucun candidat ne peut réunir les suffrages du peuple s'il ne se réclame de l'amitié du "curé".

Les murs de son presbytère, au lieu de tableaux de prix, sont couverts de cartes où il trace ses chemins de fer, presque tous construits aujourd'hui. Montréal-Saint-Jérôme, Ottawa-Montréal, Montréal-Québec, le Grand Tronc du Nord par Maniwaki et Winnipeg jusqu'au Pacifique, Hull-Maniwaki-Mont-Laurier. Il rêve de chemins de fer à tel point qu'au confessionnal, comme pénitence, il impose parfois un chemin de fer au lieu d'un chemin de Croix. Il voit grand et loin: coloniser les vallées des tributaires de l'Outaouais: les rivières Rouge, La Lièvre et la Gatineau, envahir le Nord du Québec et de l'Ontario et pousser jusqu'à Winnipeg. "Avec un chemin de fer qui sillonnera, je l'espère, avant longtemps cette belle région, nous pourrons y établir

⁴ Lettre Labelle à Buies, 27 novembre 1887 — Papiers Buies. Chez L. Lamontagne, Collège Militaire Royal, St-Jean, (Qué.).

de nombreuses paroisses qui se multiplieront jusqu'à Winnipeg et même jusqu'à la Baie d'Hudson." ⁵

Cet empire lui appartient. Il en parle comme seigneur de son domaine. Il reçoit hommage de ses féaux sujets. Jamais souverain n'a été plus entraînant, plus puissant. Non seulement il distribue le pays aux colons, mais encore il participe à son administration. Il a eu son gros mot à dire dans la préparation de la législation relative aux forêts, aux chemins de fer, à l'industrie, à l'agriculture, au bien-être social. D'après le *Chronicle*, "Father Labelle was the originator of that famous bill, which was sanctioned by the Legislature, in the free grant of hundred acres of land to the parents who were blessed with twelve or more children." ⁶

Jamais souverain n'a été plus populaire. Il est salué partout avec joie et enthousiasme. La première locomotive du chemin de fer du Nord s'appelait "Révérend Labelle". De nombreux hôtels ont pris son nom. On a fabriqué des souvenirs à son effigie. Le journal *l'Avenir du Nord* porte la photo du curé au haut de sa première page. L'un des délégués français écrira bientôt que trois choses l'ont particulièrement frappé au Canada: la chute Niagara, la foi du peuple et le curé Labelle.

C'est bien cette popularité que Sir John veut tenter d'exploiter en Europe au profit de la colonisation. Le Roi du Nord arrive donc à Londres le 5 mars et se présente chez le haut-commissaire canadien, Sir Charles Tupper, son nouveau patron. Sir Charles ne le retient pas trop longtemps et, deux plus tard, notre curé s'installe en plein Quartier Latin, à l'Hôtel du Bon La Fontaine. Quelques amis canadiens l'attendent et, pour aviver la joie de la rencontre, ils l'invitent à dîner dans un grand café. Le repas est raffiné et abondant. On cause du pays entre deux verres de vin. Puis, des danseuses en tutu viennent présenter leur spectacle, au grand scandale du curé qui grogne: "Ou'est-ce qu'elles ont à tourbillonner comme ça? Ah! les pauvres filles, va! . . . Les femmes du Canada ont mieux à faire: elles nous donnent des petits Canadiens". ⁷

Le bon curé lui aussi a mieux à faire. Il se met sérieusement au travail. Il rencontre Rameau de Saint-Père et Onésime Reclus. Il assiste à une conférence du comte Albert de Mun, à la droite duquel on le fait asseoir et qui fait allusion au "brave et patriote curé du Canada". Il assiste à la réception à l'Académie française de Ferdinand de Lesseps. Il est reçu dans le meilleur monde. Il fonde une société de colonisation qui recueille sur le champ plus de 100,000 francs. Il multiplie les conférences en parcourant la France, la Belgique, la Hollande, la Suisse, l'Alsace-Lorraine et il invite ces populations à "prendre leur part de cet héritage offert au monde entier, et à poser . . . sur cette terre vierge de l'Amérique les bases d'une grande nation." ⁸ A Anvers, il trône au kiosque canadien, qui exhibe en boîtes de verre de la terre du Manitoba, des têtes d'originaux, de caribous et de bisons.

Il n'oublie pas le voyage qu'il projetait d'organiser. C'est le "Syndicat maritime et fluvial de France" qui se charge de l'entreprise

⁵ *Rapport du Comité de la Société de colonisation pour 1883 - 1884.*

⁶ *Chronicle* (journal de Québec), 5 janvier 1891.

⁷ Cécile Prévost-Lamarre, *Par monts et par vaux* (S.-Jérôme 1941), 62.

⁸ Proulx, abbé J. B., *Cinq mois en Europe* (Montréal 1888), 12.

et qui rassemble une délégation réunissant les divers éléments du monde économique, maritime, littéraire, artistique, industriel et commercial de France. Quatorze journaux et revues sont représentés parmi les quelque soixante délégués qui vont s'embarquer pour le Canada au Havre le 3 août 1885, à bord du *Damara*, navire peu confortable de 2,500 tonnes.⁹

Le curé a donc mené sa mission à bonne fin. Il a fait connaître le Canada en France "mieux que seize mille brochures et cinq mois de conférences . . . " Et la presse française réagit à son influence: "Il est temps que votre curé s'en aille. S'il restait ici un an, il finirait par bouleverser la France".¹⁰ Le curé a travaillé courageusement et, même s'il y a perdu 34 livres, il est fier de son succès, surtout maintenant, au milieu de toutes ces personnalités de France et de Belgique qui montent sur le navire avec les provisions: "des poules, des canards, voire une jolie vache blanche qui fournira sa part du café au lait chaque matin aux voyageurs".

Le 15 août, jour de l'arrivée à Halifax de la délégation française, marque un événement très important dans l'histoire du Canada. Ce fut un voyage, sinon aussi célèbre, du moins aussi triomphal et plus étendu que celui de *La Capricieuse* en 1855. D'Ottawa, le poète historien Benjamin Sulte appelle les visiteurs français "qui accompagnent le curé Labelle", comme naguère Crémazie:

En dépit d'un passé qui pèse
Notre coeur est resté français;
Comme il va donc battre à son aise
En vous revoyant de si près.¹¹

Le début du voyage est plutôt lent car, les trains ne circulant pas le dimanche, il faut bien se résoudre à passer la fin de semaine à Halifax. On ne perdait rien pour attendre. Deux guides officiels, au surplus écrivains bien connus de leur temps, MM. Israël Tarte et Faucher de Saint-Maurice, conduisent le groupe. Le matin du lundi, le train effectue son premier arrêt officiel au petit village de Mont-Joli. C'est le contact initial avec la Nouvelle-France où flotte une multitude de drapeaux fleurdelisés. A Rimouski, le maire Asselin M.P.P. présente une adresse au curé Labelle et aux délégués français. Aux Trois-Pistoles, l'élite des villégiateurs vient saluer le passage du train. A la Rivière-du-Loup, nouvel arrêt, nouvelle adresse par le maire Hudon: "Nous sommes Anglais par devoir, Français par amour."

Le train entre en gare à Lévis, au crépuscule. Une salve de canons et un joyeux feu d'artifice accueillent les délégués, qui passent ensuite dans la cité de Champlain qu'ils visitent entre banquets et réceptions.

On arrive à Montréal le 23, à 8 heures du soir. Au jardin Viger où la troupe s'arrête, attendue par 10,000 personnes, la fanfare suspend la marche qu'elle est en train de jouer, pour attaquer la *Marseillaise*. C'est un délire. Lundi matin, Montréal s'empresse de présenter ce dont elle est le plus fière à cette époque: ses pompiers. On organise aussi une excursion aux rapides de Lachine; le bateau transporte à son bord une

⁹ *La Presse*, 17 août 1885 donne la liste des visiteurs. A consulter: *The Dominion Annual Register and Review for the Nineteenth Year of the Canadian Union*, 1885, Edited by Henry J. Morgan (Toronto 1886) 384.

¹⁰ Proulx, *Cinq mois en Europe*, 226, 227

¹¹ *Revue canadienne*, août 1885.

députation du Club des trappeurs et du Club des cordonniers. Présentation d'adresses au cours desquelles les délégués sont nommés "trappeurs honoraires" mais on n'ose pas les faire cordonniers même honoraires. Les visites alternent avec les feux d'artifice, les réceptions et les banquets, en des salles décorées de multiples drapeaux et de nombreuses banderolles portant de flatteuses inscriptions: "Vive la France", "Tout homme a deux patries: la sienne et la France", etc. Un décor digne des contes des *Mille et une nuits*.

Mais on n'a rien vu de comparable à l'accueil que Saint-Jérôme, capitale du royaume du Nord, réservait à son souverain et à sa suite de cent cinquante voitures. On se rend à l'église chanter un *Te Deum*, on visite la papeterie Rolland, puis vient l'inévitable banquet avec force discours. M. de Molinari, chef de la délégation, rappelle la parabole de l'enfant prodigue au retour duquel on avait tué le veau gras. Aujourd'hui, c'est la France qui revient et l'on a immolé "un troupeau de veaux gras".

A Ottawa, à Saint-Hyacinthe, aux Trois-Rivières, on acclame et t'on fête le Roi du Nord et sa suite. Les poètes célèbrent leur passage.¹² Ces pauvres excursionnistes n'en peuvent mais; c'est à peine s'ils ont pu dormir deux nuits de suite ailleurs que dans les wagons-dortoirs ou en bateau. Hélas! les plus belles choses ont une fin et il fallait fuir ces plaisirs qui tuent aussi sûrement que la tristesse. Ainsi, le 4 septembre, après un dernier banquet à Québec, adieu national, la suite française perd plusieurs de ses membres qui rentrent en leur pays soit par Halifax, soit par New-York.

Il reste onze délégués fidèles, y compris deux dames, qui décident d'entreprendre le voyage de l'Ouest à la suite du bon curé.¹³ Le groupe est plus restreint mais tout aussi représentatif qu'auparavant. Partis de Montréal le 4 septembre, dans un wagon fourni par le Pacifique canadien, les voyageurs passent à Toronto le lendemain. Le *Toronto News* y va d'un article fort peu encourageant. D'après lui, il n'y a rien à attendre de la visite des Français, parce que le Canada c'est la France du XVI^e siècle et qu'il est impossible à des Français de notre temps de s'entendre avec les Français du 16^e siècle. Il en serait de même des Anglais d'aujourd'hui avec ceux de l'époque d'Elisabeth I. Le curé Labelle, bon prince, est insensible à ces sortes de plaisanteries mais il est émerveillé par l'habileté du chasseur qui, de l'intérieur du train, pour s'amuser, tire à balle deux poules de prairie qu'il décapite.

On arrive à Winnipeg mardi le 8 septembre. "Winnipeg. écrit un délégué, c'est un jeune géant. En descendant de votre *pullman car*, vous avez devant vous la *Main Street* large de 44 mètres et d'une longueur indéfinie, entièrement pavée en bois et propre! Chose rare en Amérique et même ailleurs. Un tramway circule au milieu, tandis que les côtés sont garnis de trottoirs en planches, larges comme des rues et bordés de hauts poteaux du téléphone et de l'éclairage électrique."¹⁴

La première impression des visiteurs est donc excellente et il faut la soutenir en visitant les principaux établissements de la région. Commençons par le plus intéressant: celui de Stony Mountain, le

¹² *Ibid*, sept. 1885. *La Presse* (Montréal), 21 août 1885; 21 sept. 1885.

¹³ *The Evening News* (Winnipeg), 8 sept. 1885, énumère 44 noms, ce qui est sûrement exagéré.

¹⁴ De Molinari, *Au Canada et aux Montagnes Rocheuses* (Paris 1886), 41.

pénitencier provincial. C'est là que la délégation rencontre le célèbre Poundmaker, Faiseur d'Enclos, le compagnon de Riel. On vante à l'envi le beau type d'homme qu'il est. On visite ensuite un petit village français: Saint-Pierre-Jolys. A la vue de ces gens paisibles, un délégué s'écrie: "Des Français qui ne sont pas divisés, voilà un spectacle agréable à contempler". On se rend aussi dans une colonie mennonite, Otterburn, où l'on admire la prospérité, le travail et le fruit d'une collaboration vraiment sincère.

Le 9, on assiste à une séance spéciale de la cour d'appel de Winnipeg, au moment du jugement de l'affaire Riel. M. Perrotin, ancien magistrat français, occupe le siège voisin de celui du juge en chef.

Le 10 septembre, a lieu la réception officielle de la ville de Saint-Boniface. Toute la population, selon le terme du compte rendu, "encombrait" la salle du Collège des Jésuites. Le président de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, dans son allocution, loue l'initiative et le zèle du curé Labelle. "Jusqu'à présent, dit-il, ses efforts s'étaient concentrés dans une oeuvre admirable mais qui ne nous bénéficiait qu'indirectement. Son action embrasse maintenant davantage. Nous allons avoir le secours de ses travaux, de son influence et de ses infatigables efforts." Dans sa réponse à Me Prendergast, le Roi du Nord ne se compromet pas et reste nettement sur la réserve. C'est une attitude très significative, lorsqu'on est habitué de le voir se donner si généreusement à l'appui des causes qui lui tiennent à coeur.

Ce fut une belle soirée: il y eut huit beaux discours, du chant et des acclamations. Et pourtant il y a bien quelques ombres au tableau: A l'archevêché, on montre une certaine humeur parce que la délégation est passée sans arrêter. Seul le curé Labelle est allé faire visite. A l'hôtel de ville de Saint-Boniface, certains échevins ne sont pas contents: ils présentent une motion par laquelle le conseil répudie énergiquement le reproche qui pourrait lui être fait de n'avoir pas reçu dignement la délégation, ayant été prévenu trop tard de son arrivée. Heureusement, la querelle des chanoines et des échevins a été vite étouffée et les Français se déclarent enchantés de retrouver un peuple-frère "au milieu de ces régions qu'on a crues si longtemps voisines du pôle Nord". La presse affirme que les délégués se montrent enthousiastes: "they will do all they can to encourage emigration to Manitoba in preference to Quebec or Ontario. They wonder why emigrants do not settle near Winnipeg instead of passing on to the Far West."¹⁵

Mais au milieu de toutes ces fêtes plane l'ombre de Riel. La délégation se rend à Saint-Vital visiter sa famille. Ici pas d'ovations, pas de banderolles tricolores, mais une très modeste maison en bois, au milieu des défrichements. La mesure est pourtant bien remplie. Y habitent: la mère de Riel, sa femme et ses deux enfants de 6 et 8 ans, un frère et une soeur mariée. Les visiteurs passent dans la chambre à coucher, non peinturée mais simplement crépie à la chaux. C'est la pièce principale du logis. Elle est occupée par trois grands lits à la tête desquels sont suspendus, à la façon de hamacs, des berceaux que les mères balancent pendant la nuit au moyen d'un cordon. L'intérieur est d'une navrante pauvreté: une armoire, quelques chaises en bois, des

¹⁵ Sur cette visite à Winnipeg, voir le *Manitoba* (Winnipeg), 10 et 17 sept. 1885, et *The Evening News* (Winnipeg), 8 et 11 sept. 1885.

portraits de Riel et de Mgr Taché, des images de piété. Mais la politesse reste l'ornement principal de ce foyer; les dames remercient les Français de leur visite.¹⁶

Cependant, le curé Labelle n'a pas qu'à se promener. Il se meurt de retrouver ses paroissiens et il revient accompagné de quatre délégués seulement. Le vicomte de Bouthillier demeure à Winnipeg où il désire s'établir. M. Agostini parle d'affaires avec Mgr Taché. Les autres reviennent à petits journées vers Montréal.

Voilà la genèse de cette excursion française dans l'Ouest. Quels en ont été les résultats? Pas très marqués et pour de multiples raisons.

Premièrement, la propagande invite les colons à venir au Québec où ils retrouveront une foi, une langue, des moeurs et des lois semblables. Le Manitoba vient en deuxième lieu et le Nord-Ouest en troisième. A ceux qui veulent des terres toutes faites, faciles à cultiver et de bon rendement, à ceux également qui sentent le besoin de se déplacer on recommande d'aller dans l'Ouest, comme à regret.

D'ailleurs, le curé a tellement à faire dans son royaume du Nord qu'il n'a pas le temps pour le moment de s'occuper directement de l'Ouest. Son plan est bien net et il l'a souvent exposé. Pour lui, la véritable route de l'Ouest, c'est par le Nord-Ouest provincial, la vallée de l'Outaouais jusqu'à Winnipeg. Peuplons nos montagnes d'abord, puis remplissons la vaste plaine ensuite. Il prêche à qui veut l'entendre que nous n'avons défriché que la neuvième partie de notre sol. "Je préfère mon Nord au Nord-Ouest, disait-il souvent, mais je dois reconnaître qu'il est plus difficile à coloniser parce qu'il faut d'abord le défricher."¹⁷

Au reste, ce plan est vigoureusement partagé par ses amis français, en particulier Rameau de Saint-Père et Reclus.¹⁸ Il ne s'agit pas de refuser d'envoyer dans l'Ouest ceux qui veulent y aller, mais on aimerait mieux doubler la population de la province et y consolider la foi et la nationalité. Une autre preuve, c'est que tous les amis français du curé Labelle prennent des lots, non pas dans l'Ouest, mais au Québec, sur les bords du lac Témiscamingue: les deux Reclus, 13 lots; Bonaparte Wyse, 10 lots; Rameau de Saint-Père, 1 lot.

De plus, l'émigration française n'a jamais bien réussi au Canada. Les Français sont casaniers; ils ne sortent pas volontiers de leur patelin. *L'Univers*, journal parisien pourtant très catholique, affirme qu'il faut remplir les colonies françaises avant de songer à la vallée du Saint-Laurent. D'autre part, ceux qui sont venus n'ont pas toujours fait bonne impression. En 1871, par exemple, un groupe de communards, ouvriers et artisans parisiens, envoyés par une agence de colonisation, sont venus s'établir sur des terres non défrichées. Ils étaient peu faits pour devenir bûcherons et ils ont causé plus de tort que de bien.

Il est en outre facile à établir que la visite de 1885, comme celle de 1855, était une tentative de rapprochement commercial beaucoup plus qu'une reprise du plan de colonisation de Colbert. La composition de la délégation l'indique très clairement: plus de la moitié de ses membres sont des industriels ou des négociants; le reste comprend une dizaine de journalistes, quelques avocats et quatre femmes.

¹⁶ De Molinari, *Au Canada*, 118.

¹⁷ Cécile Prévost-Lamarre, *Par monts et par vaux*, 15.

¹⁸ *Les Cahiers des Dix* No. 13 (Montréal, 1948), 247.

Ce qui est non moins certain, c'est que les démonstrations patriotiques n'étaient pas au programme et les délégués se trouvent parfois embarrassés par toutes ces fêtes. Il s'est tout de même prononcé, dans les ardeurs du vin, de très beaux discours et des phrases magnifiques, telles que celle du président du groupe à Saint-Jérôme: "Lorsque je suis venu au Canada la première fois, j'étais seul; aujourd'hui nous sommes cinquante; l'année prochaine, nous serons mille".¹⁹ On a volontiers reparlé des "arpents de neige", de l'abandon de 1760. Dans leurs allocutions, les Canadiens-français insistent toujours sur le besoin d'immigrants pour équilibrer les forces au Canada. Au Manitoba, ils ne sont que 1 pour 4. Si la France continue de nous oublier, disent-ils, nous allons disparaître.

Les Français répondent sur un autre mode. C'est le ton des affaires. Ils veulent assurer un débouché direct à leur commerce et à leur industrie, sans passer par l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis pour venir au Canada. "Nos vins, disent-ils, nos tissus, nos produits de toute sorte arriveront directement à Halifax, à Québec, à Montréal, sans avoir été frelatés ou surtaxés par des mains étrangères . . . (La délégation) va inaugurer une entreprise coloniale qui ne coûtera ni un centime, ni un homme à la France et qui, malgré cela, peut et doit aider, pour sa part, au relèvement de notre commerce et de notre industrie."²⁰ Et le chef de la délégation insiste: "Il faut que le Canadien le plus pauvre puisse boire du bon vin français à la santé de la France."²¹

M. Agostini, le secrétaire de la délégation, s'emploie dans les coulisses, en diverses réunions qu'il organise, à fonder son Association française canadienne destinée à activer les échanges. C'est lui qui a été l'âme dirigeante de la délégation. Il passe partout après les autres en vue de recueillir et de placer des capitaux. Il voudrait que le Crédit foncier franco-américain, fondé en 1880, étende ses opérations. Il cherche à établir une banque française au Canada. Ce n'est pas sans besoin, car la France ne fournit que le quarantième des importations canadiennes depuis l'imposition des droits prohibitifs, en 1879. A cet égard encore, il reste peu d'espoir aux délégués, car leur chef écrit avec humeur: "L'illusion de la protection ne sera pas facile à dissiper dans un pays où l'économie politique est moins connue que l'hébreu ou le sanscrit" et il prétend méchamment que les Canadiens boiront toujours plus de gin, de rhum et de cocktail que de vin.²²

Pour ce qui est de l'Ouest en particulier, plusieurs objectent que le Manitoba est trop loin, qu'il est trop froid, qu'il possède peu de bois, peu de cours d'eau, qu'il est peuplé (dans le temps) de Sauvages. Enfin, il semble que l'affaire Riel qui a tant passionné les esprits, même en France, ait soulevé tellement d'animosités nationales et religieuses que plusieurs familles françaises catholiques ont hésité à aller s'établir dans un milieu où les luttes de race et de religion prenaient une telle tournure.

Le Roi du Nord avait fait un beau rêve lorsqu'il écrivait deux ans plus tôt: "Soyez tranquille; je m'en vais au Nord-Ouest avec mes gens des cantons de la Rouge. Les deux rivières qui portent le même nom de la "Rouge", la mienne et la vôtre, sont appelées à se joindre.

¹⁹ *La Presse*, 29 sept. 1885.

²⁰ *Le Figaro* (Paris), 4 août 1885.

²¹ *La Presse* (Montréal), 25 août 1885.

²² De Molinari, *Au Canada*, 146.

Nous nous acheminons tranquillement vers les belles et fertiles régions de la baie James. Une fois là, nous nous donnerons la main.”²³ En 1885, lors de sa visite officielle à l’archevêché, il fait à l’abbé Dugas cette sorte de profession de foi: “Les autres nationalités ne peuvent nous enlever la Rouge ni le Lac Saint-Jean; nous devons nous assurer le Manitoba.”²⁴

Faute d’argent, de temps et de colons, le projet de fonder une seconde Nouvelle-France au Manitoba ne s’est pas réalisé. La disparition prématurée du curé Labelle, en 1890, devait le compromettre à jamais. Personne ne pouvait remplacer son charme et sa persuasion. Le géographe Reclus a compris toutes les conséquences de sa disparition: “Il y a quelque chose de cassé . . . entre la France et le Canada depuis la mort de Labelle . . . Lui vivant, tout marchait; lui mort, tout s’arrête . . . ”²⁵

Le passage de la délégation au Canada a causé une certaine émotion; comme la barque qui fend l’onde, elle a laissé un faible remous: quelques cris, des bravos, puis des souvenirs, mais bien peu de colons.

²³ Lettre Labelle au curé Filion, citée par Auclair, *Le curé Labelle*, 182.

²⁴ Archevêché de S.-Boniface — Papiers 1885 — Lettre abbé Dugas à Mgr Taché, 9 sept. 1885.

²⁵ Lettre Reclus à Silvestre, citée par Auclair, *Le curé Labelle*, 242.

COMMENTAIRES

M. Mason Wade demande si l’idée de promouvoir un nouvel établissement de colons canadiens-français au Manitoba était agréable à Honoré Mercier.—Le major Lamontagne répond que non: le premier ministre de la province de Québec entendait consolider d’abord les établissements québécois. M. l’abbé d’Eschambault exprime l’opinion que le curé Labelle a changé d’idée entre 1883 et 1885, pour deux raisons: d’abord il a été déçu par son voyage au Manitoba; puis les articles du journaliste Jardinel, dans la *Vérité*, ont influencé ses opinions.—Le major Lamontagne reconnaît qu’en effet il est difficile de déceler la pensée véritable du curé Labelle. Même durant son séjour au Manitoba, avec la délégation française, son attitude vacille: durant sa visite à l’archevêché de Saint-Boniface, il promet au vicaire général (en l’absence de l’archevêque Taché) de faire tous ses efforts pour envoyer des colons; il est très réticent, le soir, au collège des jésuites, lors de la réception officielle, à laquelle n’assiste aucun représentant de l’archevêché. Le professeur Lower s’informe comment le corpulent curé Labelle a pu faire le long et pénible voyage du Manitoba.—Le curé ne voyagea pas en canot d’écorces. Le R. P. Adrien Pouliot rappelle l’invitation du curé Labelle durant sa tournée d’Europe: “Venez prendre votre part de l’héritage offert au monde entier,” et on rapproche le mot saisissant du représentant du Pape Pie XII, au Canada, il y a quelques années: “Offrons à tant d’hommes sans terre nos terres sans hommes.”

ENGLISH MISSIONARY RECORDS AND THE HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN WEST

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THE STUDENT of the history of the Canadian West, particularly of the period following the entry of the West into confederation, is often handicapped by a scarcity of the letters and journals upon which the historian is accustomed to depend for the raw material of his work. For the period before confederation the vast and admirably organized archives of the Hudson's Bay Company are invaluable but after settlement began in real earnest, and particularly after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Hudson's Bay Company's interests tended to shift northward and for the areas in which settlement took place the resources of its archives are comparatively slight. Some settlers wrote letters and kept diaries but relatively few seem to have found their way into public archives, national or provincial. The student is obliged to depend upon government documents, printed reports and newspapers and periodicals. These, although indispensable, lack the intimacy of more personal records and cannot always properly be regarded as primary sources.

A large body of primary material exists in the records of the various missionary societies active in western Canada which have their headquarters in England. Thanks to the grant of sabbatical leave from his university and generous assistance from the Social Science Research Council the writer was able to spend some time in the archives of several of these organizations. It was from the first evident that the bulk of the missionary records available in England made limitation imperative, and investigation was accordingly confined to the papers of the Anglican societies, as Anglican missions in the Canadian West were longest and most largely dependent on English societies for support. The records of the nonconformist societies have apparently been admirably preserved and must contain western material, but their western missions were quicker to attain self-support and were from the first more effectively supported by the parent bodies in eastern Canada than those of the Church of England. Accordingly their connection with the English nonconformist societies was not as close. Roman Catholic missions do not seem to have been to any extent dependent upon English support and therefore it is unlikely that a large body of material pertaining to them exists in the United Kingdom.

The three Anglican societies most active in the West were, in order of origin, the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church Missionary Society, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society, or, to use the common abbreviations, S.P.G., C.M.S. and Col. & Con. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded in 1701 by the Reverend Thomas Bray, began its activities on the American continent shortly after its formation and its missionaries soon appeared in Canada. It was to the S.P.G. that the Hudson's Bay Company appealed for a missionary to the new colony on the Red River but the Society was unable to accede to the

Company's request and it was the Church Missionary Society that sent out the Reverend John West, the first Anglican priest to serve in Rupert's Land. The Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, devoted itself especially to the conversion of the heathen. The white settlers overseas were the particular concern of the S.P.G. and the Colonial and Continental Church Society, originally organized to provide chaplains for isolated English congregations in Europe, worked in the same field. As time passed the societies came to represent varying shades of Anglican churchmanship, with the Colonial and Continental attracting the staunchest Evangelicals and S.P.G. offering a refuge for those who followed the Tractarians, although the older society always tried to avoid the accusation of extremism.

Of the three societies the records of S.P.G. offer most to the student of western Canadian settlement. Following its policy of devoting itself, as far as Canada was concerned, to the new settler, it left most of the Indian work to the Church Missionary Society, and its representatives were seldom far behind the pioneer. Its missionaries reported to the Society through their bishops and thus the papers of greatest interest fall into two main categories, the formal reports from individual mission fields, which give a detailed account of limited areas, and the less formal correspondence between the bishops and the General Secretary of the Society. As the bishops were usually on terms of acquaintance, if not always of friendship, with this important official, these letters are much more than formal reports and throw a vivid light upon the problems of the Church as well as upon the daily life and development of the west. There are also occasional letters from individual missionaries to officials of the Society but in most cases these are not of such interest as they are usually concerned with purely personal matters.

The missionaries supported by the S.P.G. in the Canadian West were a remarkable body of men, many of them able and well educated and almost all of them devoted to the cause for which they had found a vocation. As educated men plunged into what was usually a wholly strange environment, and as priests particularly concerned by the nature of their work with the state of the community around them, they are excellent witnesses to the course of the country's development. As strangers they could achieve a degree of objectivity, and although they had their own prejudices and preconceptions they stood to some extent outside the community they served. Thus their reporting has particular value to the student, although it must be admitted that occasionally their complete ignorance of conditions led them into obvious misunderstanding of what seems from other sources to be the true state of affairs.

The records of the S.P.G. are happily in an excellent state of preservation for its Westminster premises were spared war damage, although some of the documents have been injured by flooding. The Canadian papers, however, are very complete. Thanks to a grant from the Pilgrim Trust the Society was able to arrange its papers in such a way as to make them easily accessible and some of its particular treasures have enjoyed the skilled attention of the experts of the Record Office. The *Letters Received from Overseas* are arranged by year and by diocese, with the American dioceses grouped together, and thus a

particular topic, area or individual is easily pursued. These letters are the papers likely to be of greatest interest to the student of western Canadian history as they include the reports from missionaries and the letters from bishops already mentioned.

Copies of many of these papers are available in Canada and many letters and reports have been used in missionary publications. This publishing or copying has not, however, lessened the value of the original, for much of interest remains available only in the London archives. Often the copying seems to have been done with ecclesiastical matters, particularly missionary considerations, in mind. Few of the S.P.G.'s correspondents in Canada wielded a firmer pen than Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, first bishop of New Westminster, and many extracts from his letters appear in *The Mission Field*, the Society's publication. But the following description of the canning industry of British Columbia in its early stages found no place in its columns. The cannery in question was operated by William Ladner, "an enterprising Cornishman who combines the somewhat dissimilar trades of farming and the canning of salmon", at Trenant on the Fraser, twelve miles below New Westminster:

The cannery was occupied by Chinamen making cans for the salmon that, it is hoped, will arrive in August. (As it turns out they have *not* come, and most of the canneries are already 'shut down', with only half the usual supply.) The whole of the can-making is done by hand machines, and the division of labour is very remarkable, each can passing through a dozen pairs of hands in process of manufacture. All is done, however, with the utmost regularity, without confusion, and in perfect silence, one of 'John's' estimable characteristics being not to talk over his work At this cannery alone they were making 192,000 cans The salmon are caught by Indians with nets. On being brought to the cannery they are cleaned, and then chopped by a sort of guillotine of many blades into pieces the length of a can. The cans are then filled, and piled on a trolley which is run into a huge boiler and the whole door being shut, steam is applied through coils of iron tubing, and when it is known that this cooking process is prolonged through nearly three hours no one need be afraid of eating their salmon underdone. The whole business, from the manufacture of the cans to the packing of them occupies only about six weeks so that a man must needs combine some other calling with it.¹

The most prolific of the S.P.G.'s western Canadian correspondents was undoubtedly Robert Machray, second Bishop and first Archbishop of Rupert's Land and first Primate of All Canada. Despite his firmly held conviction to the contrary, Archbishop Machray was not always right but he was a great ecclesiastical statesman and a great educator who left his mark on the schools and colleges of the west and from the products of his far-ranging pen the student can descry the development of the region that Machray so loved and to which he gave so much. In his references incidental to church affairs one can follow the history of, among much else, the city of Winnipeg. In 1867 he wrote, "I expect ere long to be trying to build a Chapel at the little village of Winnipeg." St. John's, his cathedral, and St. James', both

¹ Archives of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster. S.P.G., Letters Received, Overseas. Bishop Sillitoe to Secretary, S.P.G., August 16, 1880.

established parishes, were too far away to serve the new community.² A few weeks later prospects for "the little gathering village of Winnipeg" were more definite³ and plans went ahead so fast that in the hurricane of 1868, one of the catastrophies that periodically overtook the Red River settlement, the new church was blown down.⁴ However it was soon set up again, for in 1869 one of Machray's clergy, the future Bishop Pinkham of Saskatchewan and Calgary, was married to a young lady, a Miss Drever, who played the harmonium in the new church, now dedicated to the Holy Trinity.⁵ In 1870 services were held there for the volunteers who hoped to keep order on the Red River.⁶ By 1874 Winnipeg was "a city of over 3000 inhabitants growing constantly and rapidly" and Holy Trinity church had become too small for its congregation, which was planning to raise \$10,000 for a new building.⁷ This new church was completed in 1876 and hoped to be self-supporting.⁸ In the following year Holy Trinity had not only achieved self-support but was paying its incumbent two thousand dollars a year and raising funds for an organ.⁹ By 1881, when Machray estimated Winnipeg's population at 12,000, Holy Trinity had bought a new site and was planning a stone and brick church to cost \$30,000. Its old site was so valuable, because of the real estate boom which Winnipeg had experienced, that the parishioners hoped its sale would go far to defray the cost of the new building. Plans were under way for Christ Church, with seating for seven hundred,¹⁰ and although in 1882 money was tight and interest at ten per cent,¹¹ Holy Trinity had the year before contributed \$800 to the support of a mission at Brandon.¹² By this time Winnipeg was growing more sophisticated, some of his flock were impatient with Machray's unrepentant Evangelicalism and in 1884 the newly opened Church of All Saints, "in the best residential locality", was looking for "a fair minded, moderate High Churchman".¹³

Some of the earlier letters from Rupert's Land cast interesting sidelights on the first Riel rising. Machray was fully aware of the difficulty of the situation in those "hard and uncomfortable times"

² S.P.G., Letters Received, Overseas. Rupert's Land. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, January 2, 1867. Abbreviated as S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld.

³ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, February 13, 1867.

⁴ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Montreal, August 31, 1868.

⁵ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, January 2, 1869.

⁶ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Manitoba, October 15, 1870.

⁷ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Manitoba, January 25, 1874.

⁸ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Bishop's Court, June 5, 1876.

⁹ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary S.P.G., April 21, 1877.

¹⁰ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Bishop's Court, January 29, 1881.

¹¹ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Bishop's Court, December 21, 1882.

¹² S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., July 9, 1881.

¹³ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Treasurer of Rupert's Land to Secretary, S.P.G., Winnipeg, May 2, 1884.

when "we never know what may be the calamity of tomorrow". He felt that the gravity of the situation was not appreciated at home. "The British Government and people seem to be deaf to the sound of our grievous troubles."¹⁴ A few weeks later things still remained "in a very bad condition. I doubt whether England ever in her history has allowed things to go as they have done here for the past six months. If she does not act in some way to ensure protection and order for her loyal subjects what is the meaning of her claim of Empire?"¹⁵ There was some division of opinion among the clergy of the Red River. Archdeacon Pinkham, whose father-in-law and brother-in-law had been arrested by Riel's party for assisting Dr. Schultz to escape,¹⁶ was evidently ready to fight it out with the French, but Machray saw such a course as leading to "indiscriminate ruin", especially as the English-speaking half-breeds had had nothing to do with the insurrection. He was himself reluctant to leave the settlement if his presence could help the situation, and his predecessor, Bishop Anderson, had advised him to postpone a proposed visit to England.¹⁷ During the later disturbances on the Saskatchewan in 1885 he was similarly critical of the Government.

The cause of this half-breed rising has been the continued procrastination of the Government in settling squatting and other claims to serious individual loss and general inconvenience. The Indians have not this excuse. Their attitude is very unexpected. I suspect it is simply owing to their starving and wretched condition. The government aid to them is doubtless a great help but it is not enough to maintain them What food the Government has given them has been given in rather a humiliating way — doled out as to paupers — and though that may be their description — yet the feeling of the tribe may be hard.¹⁸

Nothing was closer to Machray's heart than the Church's work in the field of education and especially in that of higher education. He made tireless efforts here to promote the influence of the Church and to strengthen and extend her educational institutions. He was not at all in sympathy with those who sought to secularize the Manitoba school system and he deplored the policies of the Greenaway Government as going much too far in that direction. His own political sympathies had been with the more or less Conservative administration headed by the Honourable John Norquay, a devoted Churchman and a close friend,¹⁹ and he feared, with some reason, that his beloved St. John's College might suffer in relation to the new plans for the University of Manitoba.²⁰

¹⁴ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, February 12, 1870.

¹⁵ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, April 16, 1870.

¹⁶ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. W. C. Pinkham to Secretary, S.P.G., St. James', January 28, 1870.

¹⁷ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Red River, June 21, 1870.

¹⁸ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Winnipeg, April 17, 1885.

¹⁹ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Bishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Winnipeg, April 14, 1890.

²⁰ S.P.G.L.R.(O) R.'s Ld. Archbishop Machray to Secretary, S.P.G., Winnipeg, December 29, 1903.

Although for the student of the history of the Canadian West in the period of settlement the records of S.P.G. hold the greatest interest, those of the Church Missionary Society offer much to the student of the history of missions generally as well as to anyone interested in the Indians of Canada and their relations with the whites. The Church Missionary Society's archives are in the process of arrangement and the Canadian materials so far available include, under the heading *North-West America (Rupert's Land Mission)*, the *Individual Letter Books* (outgoing) 1852-87, in two quarto volumes, the *Letter Books* (outgoing) 1821-82, in four folio volumes, the *Mission Books* (incoming) 1822-62, in six folio volumes, and for 1868-76, four folio volumes with separate sections at the back of each volume for the records of the North Pacific Mission. There are also fourteen boxes containing the *Original Letters, Journals and Papers* (incoming) 1822-80, for the North-West America Mission and two boxes for the North Pacific (British Columbia) Mission, 1857-80. The *Minute Books* of the Society and the printed *Proceedings* are also available. The *Mission Books*, perhaps the most interesting from the Canadian point of view, comprise original letters and journals from the mission field, indexed under the name of the writer or, in the case of papers, a descriptive title, e.g. *List of articles required for a new Missionary*.

Although of later origin than the other societies, the Colonial and Continental Church Society has a long record of activity in the Canadian West, beginning in 1852 with the formation of an Association by the incumbent of Headingley, Leeds, to support a "Headingley Missionary" in Rupert's Land. Unfortunately the "Col. & Con." suffered heavily in the blitz and most of its original papers, records and letters were destroyed. The printed *Annual Reports*, which go back to 1824, happily survived, together with the *Minute Books*, but even the bound volumes of the Society's publication, *The Greater Britain Messenger*, show some fire damage. *The Greater Britain Messenger* began publication as a quarterly in 1876 but apart from Numbers I — XXVI, April 1876, to January 1883, the series is broken until 1900. The loss is a sad one, for the Colonial and Continental Church Society supported, among many other missions, that to the Barr Colony at Lloydminster, and George Exton Lloyd was one of its missionaries. The extracts from his letters printed are enough to suggest how much more the original might have told us of that interesting experiment in colonization and one can only regret that the full records of this society no longer exist to complement the rich resources of its sister organizations for the study of the history of the Canadian West.

DISCUSSION

Professor Sissons said that church history had suffered because so many universities were state universities. It was a neglected subject and yet the student cannot understand people until he understands their religious history. This paper was a cheering sign. Very rich resources for some aspects of western church history such as the relation of the H. B. C. and the Reverend James Evans, and the story of the heroic Methodist missionaries in British Columbia were available. There was a considerable amount of information regarding British Columbia in the correspondence of the *Christian Guardian*. *W. N. Sage* said that the Anglican Church was just beginning to tackle the question of church history. The Methodists too were making a beginning. Both of them were however far behind the Roman Church in developing their historical material. With regard to the pioneer Methodists in British Columbia some work had been done at U. B. C. on the history of the Methodists prior to church union. He said that the history of Christianity was, however, more important than the history of denominations. He pointed out important questions for examination — such as the influence of Christianity generally in making the west. Church history was part of the social history of Canada and should be approached on a broad basis. *Reverend T. C. B. Boon* said that the Church of England was not unmindful of its historical liabilities. A collection of historical materials has been made by the Ecclesiastical Province of Ruperts Land, and will be turned over to the provincial library to be available for students. *F. G. Roe* said that an understanding of church history in the west must begin with a rejection of Ralph Connor. In his western novels Ralph Connor laid much stress upon the work of the Presbyterians to the exclusion of the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists.

THE VIKINGS IN AMERICA

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A VERITABLE flood of writings continues to pour from the printing presses on the subject I have chosen to call "The Vikings in America." In this address I propose to examine some of these recent writings and attempt to summarize the present state of our knowledge of some aspects of this topic which have long engaged the attention of professional and amateur investigators and are well known to historians. In the main I have limited my study to articles and books which have appeared since 1939 although I have taken into account a few earlier works. All the works that have come to my attention are listed and briefly commented on in an Appendix.¹ Many of these deal with topics which space has precluded me from treating in this address.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE GREENLAND COLONY

Greenland was settled from Iceland in 985 and during the following fifteen or twenty years. Two settlements, both on the west coast, called the Eastern and Western, flourished there for some centuries. The Western Settlement is often said to have disappeared *ca.* 1342, either by reason of the migration of the inhabitants to America or their extermination by the Eskimos — a matter I will not attempt to deal with here. The Eastern Settlement lasted at least till the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. Its disappearance has long been regarded as one of the great unsolved mysteries of history and many theories have been advanced as solutions to this problem.

The theory that the Icelanders were defeated and wiped out in bloody warfare with the Eskimos or aborigines was long ago refuted by Fridtjof Nansen and Vilhjalmur Stefansson.² Further detailed and conclusive arguments against it were advanced in 1943 by Dr. Jon Duason in his work on the explorations and settlements of the Icelanders in the Western Hemisphere. Nor has the great archaeological work which the Danes have done in both settlements revealed anything that might indicate that the Icelanders were bloodily exterminated by the Eskimos. This is true of the magnificent report by Aage Roussell of the excavations of the farms and churches of mediaeval Greenland, published in 1941.

Since the excavation of the churchyard at Herjolfsnes in the Eastern Settlement, carried out in 1921, many have come to believe that malnutrition and physical degeneration explain the disappearance of the colony. This view was advanced by Dr. Poul Norlund in his 1924 report on the excavations and reaffirmed in his book *Viking Settlers in Greenland* in 1936, and by Dr. Fr. C. C. Hansen in the

¹ The Appendix, a critical bibliography, will be published in the *Canadian Historical Review*, March 1955.

² Accents and Icelandic characters were not easily available when this paper was put into print. English equivalents have been used throughout the paper.—*Editor.*

report on his anatomical investigations of the skeletal remains exhumed in the churchyard. As I have seen no really exhaustive examination of these reports except that of Dr. Jon Duason in his above mentioned work, I wish to say something in this connection.

Of the churchyard at Herjolfsnes there remained at the time of the excavations only the parts north, east and west of the church. The sea had eaten away almost all the area south of the church. It is evident, however, that the southern part has been much larger than the northern part for the west and east walls of the yard meet the northern wall at angles much greater than 90° . In this churchyard Norlund dug up some 200 graves and recovered from about 110 to 120 of these, well preserved clothing, about thirty coffins, and skeletal remains of some twenty-five bodies of both children and adults. A few of these bodies were fairly well preserved, of some practically nothing was left. No remains at all were found in the coffins exhumed.

These skeletal remains were transported to Denmark where they were subjected to a painstaking anatomical examination by Dr. Fr. C. C. Hansen, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Copenhagen. He found in most of the remains unmistakable signs of disease, malnutrition, excessive wear of teeth and other deficiencies. Dr. Hansen also measured the empty coffins, which varied in inside length from 154 to 204 cm. (*ca.* 60 to 80 inches), and attempted to determine the approximate height of the individuals who had once been buried in them. On the basis of his examinations and measurements Dr. Hansen concluded:

The vigorous northern race that originally colonized Greenland degenerated in the course of the centuries under the influence of the hard and at last constantly deteriorating life conditions and other unfavourable conditions, especially isolation both intellectually, materially and as regards race hygiene. It became a race of small people, little powerful, physically weakened, with many defects and pathologic conditions.

How sound are these conclusions? Not very, it must be said. Of the twenty-five bodies, in eight cases the remains were so few that nothing of importance could be deduced. Of the remaining seventeen bodies, sixteen were found in the northeast or northwest corners of the churchyard and one in the southeast corner. This last was a well preserved find, the bones of a powerful individual whose health had been good. Now, it is well known, that in mediaeval times only the lowest and most poorly nourished classes in the community — beggars and paupers — were buried in the portion of a churchyard north of the church. This consideration does not seem to have weighed at all with Dr. Hansen, who in his eagerness to postulate a general degeneration among the inhabitants of Greenland even ventures the suggestion that the remains of the powerful individual found in the southeast corner of the yard were probably those of a foreign visitor. No real attempt was made by him or Dr. Norlund to determine the age of these burials. Dr. Duason has shown on the basis of Norlund's own report that some of them at least were not from the last days of the colony but from the thirteenth century. Again in measuring the coffins Dr. Hansen has adopted the arbitrary standard of subtracting 15 cm. (*ca.* 6 inches) from the length of the coffin to arrive at the theoretical

maximum length of the individual and has then on the basis of the width of the coffin calculated the probable height of the individual. In the case of the coffin whose length was 204 cm. (ca. 80 inches) this method results in a probable height for the buried individual of 181 cm. (ca. 71 inches). Such a method does not inspire confidence, especially when it is considered that wood for coffins must have been fairly scarce and they would probably be made as small as possible, that some of the excavated ones had been used more than once (Dr. Norlund deduces this from the absence of a lid in five cases), and that little is known of the age of these burials. It would indeed seem that seldom have such sweeping generalizations been made on the basis of such small evidence and with so little consideration of various factors which would affect the results. Dr. Hansen makes no allowance for the difference in stature between mediaeval and modern man, which was, as is well known, considerable. In any case, the skeletal remains from the paupers' corner and the coffins exhumed at Herjolfsnes cannot possibly be regarded as a representative sample of the physical condition of the Icelanders in Greenland at the close of the fifteenth century.

In his writings Dr. Norlund has emphasized that there was a gradual deterioration in the climate of Greenland in the later Middle Ages. This, according to him, helps to explain the degeneration of the Icelandic population in Greenland. It is true that there has in recent times been considerable talk of a deleterious change in climate from 1300 on, but opinions are very divided on the question. In any case it must, I think, be admitted, as Jon Eythorsson has pointed out, that Icelandic weather records, which are comparatively speaking very complete for the last thousand years, do not give any support for the contention that there has been any significant change in the climate of Iceland and Greenland in the last millenium.

In my opinion the most plausible theory for the disappearance of the Greenland colony is that of the gradual absorption of the Icelanders and their culture by the Eskimo — a theory first propounded as long ago as 1776 by Eigill Thorhallason in his *Efterretning om Rudera* and since then championed especially by Nansen, Stefansson and Duason. What little light archaeological work on Eskimo sites in Greenland throws on this problem favours this theory.

VINLAND

The literature on Vinland is growing most exuberantly and there is no end to the attempts being made to locate the site of this settlement. I have time here to notice briefly only a few of the more significant works on this subject. I may say at once that after perusing the writings on Vinland from the last fifteen years and after having made an independent attempt to determine its location by a close study of the sources, I have reached the conclusion that all attempts to locate it which are based on the nautical, geographical (i.e. topography, climate, botany, etc.), ethnographic and astronomical data supplied by the literary sources can never produce certainty. The sources are so scanty, confused and sometimes contradictory that the above conclusion seems to me unavoidable.

Of the two main sources on the Vinland voyages Dag Stromback wrote in 1940: "One — *Eiriks saga rauda* — is a work of the

scholarly type with its roots in the classical historical writings of the thirteenth century. The other — *Graenlendinga thattr* — is a later document from the fourteenth century based directly upon an oral tradition of a certain district or a certain family and written down at a time when the tradition had begun to fade and when romantic sagas and other late tales easily were able to exercise influence upon its composition and style." Stromback believes that both sagas deserve attention and that one may be no less historical than the other, although the *Graenlendinga thattr* has some fantastic episodes. "Yet," he says, "where the territory was located that the Norsemen called *Vinland* can probably never definitely be settled," and "Textual criticism offers the only sound method for achieving a basis for further hypotheses about the Norsemen's routes and about the location of Wineland."

Recently the archaeologist Johannes Bronsted has also expressed doubts as to the success of any attempt to locate Vinland without extensive and thorough archaeological investigations, and suggests a number of localities where these should be carried out.

In the literature of the past fifteen years Vinland has been located as far north as the shores of Hudson Bay and as far south as Georgia or even Florida. Let us look at a few of these works beginning with that of the eminent Finnish scholar, V. Tanner. In a paper published in 1941 he based his arguments largely on the nautical data of the sources and this led him to place Helluland in southern Baffin Land, probably near Frobisher Bay, and Markland in the Labrador territory between Cape Porcupine and West Bay or possibly on the wooded strand south of Nain. This location immediately lands Tanner in difficulties, which well illustrate the problem faced by even the most conscientious investigator, for he must read the "two days' sailing" of *Eiriks saga rauda* for the distance between Helluland and Markland as an error for "five days' sailing" the minimum time in which this distance could have been covered. Tanner finds Vinland in the vicinity of Pistolet Bay, Newfoundland. Here he is again in difficulties. Wine berries or grapes do not occur in this region. Tanner therefore enters upon an elaborate discussion of the meaning of the word *vin* and ends by reviving the view of Sven Soderberg and Fridtjof Nansen that the word means "meadow" or "pasture" in the context of the sagas.

This location of Vinland in Newfoundland by Tanner was then critically examined by two scholars, Sigurdur Thorarinsson and A. W. Brogger, who more or less agree with Tanner's views on Helluland and Markland but reject Newfoundland as Vinland. They both agree that *vin* can only mean "wine" here and both place considerable emphasis on the passage in the *Graenlendinga thattr* about the shortest day, which I will discuss presently and which is, of course, ruinous to the view of Tanner who, indeed, had tried to pass it off as an interpolation. Neither Thorarinsson nor Brogger really tries in his article to locate Vinland, although they both suggest New England as the likeliest place.

Attempts have been made to locate Vinland on the basis of the botanical information in the sagas. The most recent attempt is that of Dr. Askill Love. He has argued that the "tree called *mosurr*" must be a birch, the "self-sown wheat," Indian rice and the "*vinvidr* bearing

the fruit *vinber*," the Wild Vine. From the distribution area of these plants he concludes that Vinland must have been somewhere on the east coast of America from southern Maine to Long Island, probably the Cape Cod region. Dr. Love does not claim absolute certainty for his identification and indeed the meagre description of the plants in the sagas precludes certainty. Rightly therefore Dr. Love urges archaeological investigations of this region.

Day and night were more equal there [in Vinland] than in Greenland and Iceland; during the *skammdegi* [i.e. the period from ca. 20 Nov. to 20 Jan.] the sun was in *eyktar stadr* [i.e. the place on the horizon over which the sun is at about 3 or 3.30 p.m.] and in *dagmala stadr* [i.e. the place over which the sun is at about 9 p.m.], has led to such speculation. This involves highly technical definitions and astronomical calculations and has, not surprisingly, led to very wide differences of opinion. On the basis of this passage the northern limit of Vinland has been calculated to lie as far north as 58° 26' N. Lat., and as far south as 31° N. Lat., if not further. The literature of the last fifteen years on this problem has done little to provide a solution. The difficulties and the indecisiveness of the various calculations may be conveniently studied in Dr. Rolf Muller's paper, published in 1948, "Altnordische Eyktmarken und die Entdeckung Amerikas," where the most recent literature is summarised.

To conclude this brief discussion of the location of Vinland mention may be made of John R. Swanton's *The Wineland Voyages* (1947), an excellent and succinct summary of the literature on Vinland. It also contains an interesting section listing the data found in the sagas on the various places mentioned therein and a striking list of the numerous and varied localities which commentators have identified as Helluland, Markland, Vinland, etc. This can hardly fail to impress the reader with the futility of any further attempts to locate these places except by extensive archaeological work.

THE NEWPORT TOWER

The controversy concerning the origin of the Newport tower on Rhode Island was revived in 1942 by the publication of a book by Philip Ainsworth Means entitled *The Newport Tower*. The author traced the history of this controversy to his day and then proceeded to argue that Benedict Arnold could not have built from the ground up the structure to which he referred in his will in 1677 as "my stone-built wind-mill." Having to his own satisfaction driven the last nail into the coffin of the Arnold theory, Mr. Means then attempted to prove that the tower was a part of a round church from the Middle Ages built, most likely, by Bishop Erikur Gnipsson, whom Icelandic annals report to have sailed in search of Vinland in 1121. Without producing any positive evidence Mr. Means stated that the bishop had built the church for a secret Norse colony in Vinland. He then attempted to show that the tower has prototypes in the round church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other round churches in Europe, with which the prelate became acquainted on a Crusade in which there is no evidence whatsoever for his participation. Mr.

Means never explained how a Norse colony could exist for years in America without leaving any traces of its existence save the central portion of its round church.

Other theories were now advanced. Hjalmar R. Holand claimed that the tower was indeed a part of a round church but that it had been built (ca. 1355-1360) by members of the Powell Knutsson expedition whose work he had long claimed the Kensington runic inscription to be. The tower, Mr. Holand said, was the headquarters of the expedition which must have spent a number of years in it and the vicinity, although no artifacts have been found. He has also attempted to show that the linear measure used in constructing the tower was a Norse and not an English measure. His attempts in this direction were seconded by Mr. Frederick J. Pohl who has enthusiastically entered the lists as a champion of the Knutsson theory. The arguments based on the linear measure used are greatly weakened by the fact that the tower is of such rough construction that accurate measurement is almost impossible. As far as I know, no competent architect has ever measured the tower.

Another theory as to the origin of the tower was advanced in 1948 by Mr. Herbert Pell. From the absence of artifacts in or near the tower he argued tellingly that, if it is indeed a mediaeval structure, it could not be the work of a settled community or an expeditionary force, but must have been built by men who possessed practically no supplies or tools, e.g. shipwrecked sailors. These he thought he had found in the companions of Miguel Cortereal, to whom Professor E. B. Delabarre ascribes the inscription on the Dighton Rock. Shipwrecked in the region where the tower now stands, Cortereal and his companions erected the tower in 1502 or 1503 both as a habitation and to attract the attention of possible rescuers sailing along the coast.

Still another theory was advanced in 1949 by Mr. Th. Fliflet. In his opinion the tower was a sort of mercantile office building, a mediaeval storehouse, whose arcaded ground floor was nothing but a symbol of trade from Hanseatic days. The Celts were given the honour of having built the tower by Arlington H. Mallery in his fantastic book *Lost America* largely on the grounds of his claim that the stone work is distinctively Celtic.

Professor Kenneth J. Conant suggested that, if indeed the tower was standing as early as 1634, it may well have been the work of the windmill-building Netherlanders in the New World. In this same article, however, his main arguments were to the effect that, although the tower admittedly has mediaeval features, nothing in its construction could not equally well have been produced in seventeenth century New England. Mr. Holand attempted to answer his arguments but with little success in my opinion.

Many of the above theories are no doubt interesting and often ingenious but the arguments for and against them are largely inconclusive. It has therefore often been urged that excavations be made in and around the tower. It was not, however, until 1948 that the Newport Park Commission gave permission for this to be done, and the work was undertaken by Mr. William S. Godfrey, Jr. None of the few objects found antedated the colonial period of American his-

tory. Thus the excavations, although perhaps only negative evidence, strengthen the case for the post-Columbian origin of the "Old Stone Mill."

THE KENSINGTON STONE

Erik Moltke has written: ". . . the genuineness of The Kensington Stone is near to becoming something of a religion for certain Americans, a matter of national honor if one may say so." What is the story behind this stone? Briefly this: On 28 October 1354 the king of Norway, Magnus Eiriksson, issued a letter to Powell Knutsson instructing him "to take all the men who shall go in the *knorr* [the king's ship in the possession of the crown of Norway, which was regularly used for sailing between Bergen and Greenland] whether they be named or not named, from my bodyguard or other men's attendants." He was to proceed with these men to Greenland and, the letter continues, "We ask that you accept this our command with a right good will for the cause, as we do it for the honor of God and for the sake of our soul and our predecessors, who have introduced Christianity in Greenland and maintained it to this day, and we will not let it perish [nederfalle] in our days." This letter is genuine. We are now asked to believe that the story of the expedition it ordered was as follows.

Knutsson set out the next year, reached Greenland and there found that nothing was known concerning the whereabouts of the inhabitants of the Western Settlement who as apostates had some years previously "turned to the peoples of America." Knutsson therefore sailed away in search of them to Vinland where he established his headquarters and built the Newport tower — a fortified round church. Having failed to find the apostates after a diligent search for them in Vinland, Knutsson sailed north again along the shores of Labrador, into Ungava Bay, through Hudson Straits, south along the east coast of Hudson Bay, into James Bay and west to the mouth of the Nelson River. Nowhere did he find a trace of the Greenlanders.

On seeing the mighty Nelson he was impelled not only to seek the apostates inland but also to explore the interior of this great land. Accordingly, leaving ten men with his ship or ships, he and the remainder of his crew made their way up the long course of the Nelson to Lake Winnipeg, on, on through the lake to the Red River and up this into the interior of present day Minnesota — a fourteen day journey from the mouth of the Nelson. In Minnesota the party failed to find the lost inhabitants of the Western Settlement and ten of its own members were slain. One or more of the survivors then carved a runic inscription recording for posterity a fragment of the history of the expedition. It reads in Thalbitzer's translation as follows:

"8 Goths (Swedes) and 22 Norwegians on exploration journey from Vinland westward. We had camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were and fish(ed) one day. After we came home (we) found 10 (of our) men red with blood and dead. A. V. M. (Ave Virgo Maria) save (us) from evil.

(We) have 10 men by the sea to look after our ship(s) 14 days' journey from this island. Year 1362."

The party then disappears from history and we hear no more of it, although the men left with the ships returned to Norway in 1363 or 1364.

This is the tale of the Newport tower and Kensington stone which Hjalmar R. Holand will have us believe, although in the whole of it the only known fact is that King Magnus caused to be written the letter addressed to Powell Knutsson. The rest of the story of this extraordinary voyage is the creation of Holand, and in the main it rests on the discovery of the runic stone mentioned above by a Minnesota farmer, Olof Ohman, in 1898. The above quoted inscription on the stone was immediately pronounced a forgery by runologists and lay neglected until it was re-discovered in 1907 by Hjalmar R. Holand, who has from then to this day been the indefatigable defender of the authenticity of the inscription. He has written three books on the subject and numerous articles.

Interest in the Kensington Stone was greatly increased or revived when in 1948 (the fiftieth anniversary of its discovery) it was temporarily moved to the United States National Museum under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. In the last ten years a number of eminent philologists and runologists have studied the inscription and published their findings. The more important ones may be noted here.

W. Thalbitzer, formerly professor of Greenlandic at the University of Copenhagen, gave a guarded verdict in favour of the genuineness of the inscription. Erik Moltke, Inspector for the National Museum in Copenhagen and a runologist, pronounced it a forgery. Harry Anderson, Lektor in Old Scandinavian at the University of Copenhagen, declared it a forgery. Professor S. N. Hagen of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., a philologist, believed it genuine. Professor Erik Wahlgren, a philologist of the University of California, writing in refutation of Hagen's article utterly condemned the inscription. Professor Richard Hennig of Dusseldorf, author of *Terrae Incognitae*, believed it genuine. Professor Sven B. F. Jansson, Docent of Stockholm University and a runologist, declared it an arrant forgery. Professor Johannes Bronsted of the University of Copenhagen and an archaeologist somewhat reluctantly pronounced it a forgery.

To many of the above writings, which were adverse to the genuineness of the inscription, Holand wrote replies in which he attempted to refute the arguments of those to whom, in the title of one of his papers, he referred as "the learned" ("Hvad mener de Laerde om Kensingtonstenen?").

It would be impossible to summarize here the arguments for and against the authenticity of the inscription. It seems to me, however, that the adverse arguments of Sven B. F. Jansson, Erik Wahlgren, Harry Andersen and Erik Moltke are irrefutable. In conclusion I quote a few comments from an article by Moltke published in 1953 and entitled "The Ghost of the Kensington Stone".

. . . this runological abortion.

. . . all the leading runologists of Scandinavia (and Germany) have pronounced the Kensington stone to be false.

It may give American readers some impression of how specialists in the

Scandinavian countries regard the Kensington stone to learn what the professor of Icelandic at Copenhagen University, Jon Helgason, said to me when I told him that I intended to write on the Kensington stone: "No self-respecting scholar," he said, "can in decency deal with this monstrosity; there is certainly no archeologist who would bother with a grave from the stone age if the burial urn rested on a telephone book." . . . Concerning this inscription one may sum it up by saying that practically every word in it demands an excuse for its presence on the stone, if the inscription is to be from the fourteenth century, and even the excuses are insufficient to justify such forms as *opdagelsefard*, *rise*, *og*, *se efter* and *ahr*, which, however may easily — together with *from* and *ded* (English *from* and *dead*) — be explained as a modern jokester's 'archaisms' and blunders.

Well, and that is the end of it, an inscription condemned from the beginning by every competent runologist, defended by none, an inscription suspect in every detail, in rune forms, grammar, syntax, vocabulary, in the weathering of the runes, in the history of the find.

TWELFTH CENTURY CRITICS AND HUMANISTS

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THE PRESENT paper is not intended to be a treatment of criticism and of humanism, as such, in the twelfth century. It deals rather with five specific writers, Englishmen all by birth or by adoption, active for the most part in the second half of the century. Moreover, they are critics, not as judges of art and literature are critics, but as columnists and commentators are critics, critics of their time: men who are unusually sensitive to what goes on round about them in public and in private, and who are outspoken in the judgment they pass on what they see. Whether they are "humanists" or not will depend on our understanding of that elusive term. If they are, it will be of interest to inquire to what extent the "humanism" that we are willing to accord them is connected with their being critics. The first part of the paper will touch upon some aspects of humanism in the twelfth century; the second part will introduce our group of critics: John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Walter Map, Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger.

To say "humanism in the twelfth century" is to evoke the idea of "renaissance" in the twelfth century and one is thereby led inescapably to the question of Renaissance and renaissances, a question that has been much debated since an anti-Burckhardt opinion began to form in reaction to his and Michelet's supposed oversimplification of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Renaissance as "the discovery of the world and of man". Much of the debate has turned around the use of terms: whether "renaissance" is to be taken in the strictest etymological sense, of a rebirth that is not only something new but something completely different from what has immediately preceded it, or whether it does not apply also, in a broader sense, to a mere revival or reinvigorating of what was actually there all the time but had become somnolent, if not dormant. Some of the debaters would maintain, too, that the notion of "renaissance" is linked necessarily with a "rebirth" of, or reversion to, Classical Antiquity, while others hold it to be equally applicable to *any* more or less universal efflorescence of art, literature, philosophy, science and social accomplishment after a period of decay and stagnation; still others go so far as to claim the word for any quickening of life in any field whatsoever. The debate takes a clearly historical turn when scholars of the anti-Burckhardt persuasion attempt to prove that the so-called Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is in reality but the direct outgrowth of the Middle Ages, one further manifestation only of a phenomenon several times repeated in the Middle Ages, albeit with

¹ Historians have now become quite accustomed to the terms: First Italian Renaissance (as distinguished from the full flowering of the 15th and 16th centuries), Twelfth Century Renaissance, Ottonian Renaissance, Carolingian Renaissance, Anglo-Saxon Renaissance, — all in the West, without speaking of the multiple revivals at Byzantium to which some would refuse the name Renaissance on the ground that there was always too much *survival* of classical traditions at Constantinople to admit of full-scale *revivals*.

some difference of point of view.¹ Intertwined with this whole controversy is another over "humanism". Is the distinguishing mark of a "renaissance" its humanism? If so, in what sequence? Is a new interest in humanism to be equated with the "rebirth" of which we speak, or is it rather the cause that provokes a quickening, a reawakening, a reinvigorating? Or, conversely, does some reawakening of a society direct attention more or less inevitably to man and to man's activities in such a way that the "rebirth" is the cause of a new interest in humanism?

Still more fundamental is the question: what is humanism? Most would now reject any definition limiting it to an interest in Classical letters that is literary only, if not purely etymological. But, granting this, has humanism to do primarily with Classical letters at all, with Classical art and Classical philosophy? Is the view of man there presented so basic that it alone merits the designation of humanism? Is the word not applicable as well to *any* concept of man, his nature, his activities and his destiny, whether in agreement with the Classical view or not? Can there not be, for example, a characteristically Christian humanism? A final question: does "humanism" necessarily have a scholarly connotation? Is it inseparably linked with a literary, artistic and philosophical presentation, more or less formal, of the concept of man? Or may we not apply the term likewise to a simple interest in, and feeling for, men in their everyday occupations and preoccupations, ideals and experiences?²

So many questions remain unanswered, so many problems remain unsolved! One would hardly say that the controversy still *rages*, but it does still *go on*, as is evidenced by the number of books and articles on the subject even within the past five years.³ The results of the many-sided controversy interest us here only in so far as our view of the twelfth century is affected thereby. No one, I venture to say, would now seriously question the fact that an age which has been traditionally called the Renaissance and which extends roughly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is marked by typical characteristics enough to warrant treating it as a very distinct period in history; why quarrel then with the designation "Renaissance" which does serve to convey certain of these characteristics and which has, in any

² It must be in this sense that a text quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* uses the term when it refers to "the ample wisdom and bland morality of such a *humanist* as Shakespeare".

³ The earlier literature on the subject is enormous; so much so that whole books are now written on the history of the notion of "Renaissance". One of the best is that of W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (New York, 1948) which takes into account most of what had been said up to that time; it, however, has not prevented other expressions of opinion on the subject, beginning with the article-length review of Ferguson's book by Hans Baron in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XI (1950), 493-510. To mention only a few: W. A. Nitze, "The So-called Renaissance of the Twelfth Century", *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 464-471; W. K. Ferguson, "The Renaissance: a Synthesis", *Renaissance News*, III (1950), 41-43 (résumé of a paper delivered before the Modern Language Association at New York on Dec. 28, 1950); Urban T. Holmes, "The Idea of a Twelfth Century Renaissance", *Speculum*, XXVI (1951), 643-651; Eva M. Sanford, "The Twelfth Century Renaissance or Proto-Renaissance", *Speculum*, XXVI (1951), 635-642; E. H. Wilkins, "On the Nature and Extent of the Italian Renaissance", *Italica*, XXVII (1950), 67-76; M. D. Chenu, "L'Homme et la nature: perspectives sur la renaissance du XIIe siècle", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, (1952), 39-66.

case, grown into our usages? Where the controversy has served a useful purpose is in identifying these distinguishing characteristics more precisely and in tracing more accurately the antecedents of the period usually called the Renaissance. It has also shown that there are, in addition, earlier periods that are certainly not unworthy of the name "renaissance". Outstanding among these is the one that is referred to, since the time of Charles Homer Haskins, as "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century". Actually its roots reach back to the early eleventh and its ardour has hardly cooled by the thirteenth. The abundant research that Haskins precipitated now makes it clear that there was a true revival in this period, a recovery and a reawakening. It shows too that there is much in the age that was entirely new. What characterizes it most is the air of freshness and vigour that blows through it, whether of complete novelty or rather of renewal only.

It comes as a distinct surprise to realize how many of the notes that we associate with the Renaissance of the later period are precisely the ones that, in different degree and with different emphases, characterize the twelfth century: ⁴ an appeal to the validity of reason and an investigation of the natural causes of things; partly connected with this, a new turning to nature both by way of simple awareness and observation and by way of more deliberate study; an obviously critical spirit that manifests itself in regard to miracles and relics, magic and superstitions, as also in regard to the supposedly authoritative texts of the schools; a curiosity and a thirst for knowledge that crowd the roads leading to Paris and the other seats of learning; a touch of secularism, if not anti-clericalism, and an insistence on the lay orders in society; a distinctly personal and subjective note in literary utterances from the love theme of troubadours and courtly romances to the autobiographical elements in the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise and the highly "individualistic" tone of numerous other writings; the appearance of vernacular literatures and of national themes in history; an art that shakes itself free of the hieratic and stylized forms of Romanesque to stir into natural movement and natural expression, where the observation of nature, noted above, and the observation of man are clearly reflected; social and political developments that, without being upheavals, are profound in their effects; ⁵ technical achievements that may appear to us of the twentieth century as remarkably unspectacular

⁴ E. Panofsky agrees with T. E. Mommsen in regarding the distinctive note of the later Renaissance to be not its innovations, as such, but the *consciousness* of entering upon a "new time" and an *enthusiasm* for it; see Panofsky, "Renascence and Renascences", *Kenyon Review*, VI (1944), 230 and Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the Dark Ages", *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 242.

⁵ What had been the "feudal age" was being transformed by the rise of towns with their new associations and loyalties, their trade and commercial groupings, their urban movements to obtain a degree of independence; national monarchs were asserting themselves; curial offices of administration were growing in number and in importance; institutions to safeguard liberty, but liberty with responsibility, were making their appearance; political theory was developing new points of view.

but that are epoch-making just the same and constitute a veritable technical revolution.⁶

One might add to this long list what could well have been placed at its head: an increased knowledge of, and interest in, the Classics of antiquity (Latin, almost exclusively) and a literary output under their influence that imitates and uses the Classics both in style and in theme; and finally, an appeal to the authority of antiquity in the ardent recourse to the philosophy of Aristotle and to the law of ancient Rome. Even in the narrower sense of the term, this literary influence would justify speaking of a "humanism" in the twelfth century. But it is the other things, too, that, to my mind, are likewise indicative of a real humanism, a humanism that is manifested less in literary and artistic productions than in an outlook or a "mental climate" that stresses truly human things and human values as they had not been stressed for centuries. What is more thoroughly human than the very traits mentioned above: emphasis on reason, interest in nature, a more articulated expression of one's inner feelings, a trend towards freedom tempered with responsibility, an evolution of the temporal order in economic, social and political spheres, and the invention of devices and techniques to meet man's everyday needs? It would be misleading to suggest that these dominate the twelfth century; they certainly do not, but they are present, — and in considerable quantity.

An acquaintance with the literature of the twelfth century, and even with its archival sources, leaves one with the distinct impression of a concern for man, a concern for human interests, ideals, feelings and activities, that is new. In the writings of earlier centuries, man had been regarded largely as an essence, a species, a type; he was primarily an ethical or a religious entity. Suddenly in the twelfth century — in so far as literary evidence is concerned — we meet man as a concrete individual, in his material and social, earthly setting, engaged with everyday occupations and preoccupations. Twelfth century writers do not lose sight of the fact that man is a wayfarer whose destiny is ultimately a superterrestrial and supernatural one; by some this is stressed exclusively; nevertheless, there is in this century an awareness of, an interest in, and a literary expression of, what we usually term the natural, the material, the temporal and the human, that are without precedent for centuries back. Writers of Classical

⁶ The production of energy made startling advances, especially through the perfecting of machines to harness water power and to produce rotary movements, such as water-wheels and windmills (first known in Western Europe in 1105) and devices, too, for the lifting of weights; new instruments of war like the crossbow threatened the superiority of the mounted knight and appeared murderous enough to the people of the time to lead the Second Lateran Council to outlaw it in 1139; the invention of the collar in the harnessing of animals multiplied their traction power many times over and gradually transformed rural life; improved methods of bridge-building greatly facilitated overland communication; sea travel was being improved, at the same time, by the fixed rudder, which was first used in 1180; but it is the invention of the compass that was truly revolutionary for it made unlimited navigation possible, favoured mercantilism, helped the bourgeois to supplant the nobility in influence, and ultimately displaced Europe's centre of gravity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. One can hardly refrain from adding to the list the growing use of mechanical clocks which was inaugurating that rationalization of time which was completely unknown before but has been with us increasingly and inexorably ever since.

antiquity were preoccupied with just such things as these and formulated their reflections upon them. Indeed, is it not precisely this in them that we call "humanism"?

This, in any case, is the type of humanism I have in mind when I call the writers, with whom we are here concerned, "humanists". Not that they would not qualify as humanists in the narrower sense; the study of the Classics (Latin always, of course) finds no stauncher defenders in the twelfth century, if not in the whole Middle Ages, than John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger. They recall with pleasure, not to say enthusiasm, what their reading of the texts of antiquity has meant to them. They deplore, on the other hand, the shift of emphasis within the Trivium from grammar (not the formal grammar that we associate with that word but a veritable course in literature) to dialectics (the abuse of which can readily become the logic-chopping of which John of Salisbury complains); the result, in their eyes, is a growing and lamentable superficiality. They bewail, too, the rush of students to the "practical" faculties of medicine and law, while the liberal arts, like theology, are being neglected. Humanistic passages of this sort could be cited from all our writers, but it is less to this than to their humanism in the broader sense that I would call attention. They are men whose eyes are opened wide on the human scene around them, and the lively account they give of what they observe is far removed from the impersonal and uncircumstanced report of the annalist and chronicler. Nor do they stop with merely reporting in detail; they reflect, react, judge and criticize. Perhaps their clerical status has something to do with this. Certainly they are not free from moralizing, but even their moralizing is not that of a general statement illustrated by stock, hypothetical examples; they deal with concrete cases, more often than not from their own experience, and they react directly, subjectively and sometimes violently to them. It may be a question of food and clothing, games and pastimes; it may be the foibles and inanities, the weariness and the corruption of life at the court; it may be the schools and their changing programmes; it may be crafts and trades, the dispensation of justice, government administration both civil and ecclesiastical; it may be international affairs. They run the whole gamut of human life and conduct. By their fluent criticism, which becomes at times polished satire, they are far more akin to a Valla and an Erasmus than to their predecessors or to a great many of their own contemporaries.⁷

* * * *

In conclusion, let it be said that we must not exaggerate the humanism of these twelfth-century Englishmen. Obviously, if the word humanism is to carry any suggestion of opposition to, or complete independence of, what is divine and supernatural, it would not apply to them. However, there is a tendency to think of the Middle Ages as being so absorbed in an atmosphere of faith as to deprecate

⁷ Because of the limited space available for publication, it has been found necessary to omit the central portion of the paper as it was read. This part consisted principally of sketches of the five writers mentioned at the beginning and excerpts from their writings that illustrate their humanism of the type described above and that prove, I hope, their right to be called humanists as well as critics.

reason, so preoccupied with the spiritual so as to forget the temporal, so intent upon the supernatural as to view with suspicion what is natural and, in the case of man, what is human only, (as distinguished from heavenly). Just how far such a dichotomy and conscious opposition, on the one hand, or absorption, on the other, may have existed at certain moments in the Middle Ages, is not our problem here. All I wish to conclude is that, in the men we have been considering — and they are not alone — there is a sufficient curiosity about, observation of, and feeling for, the things of nature to warrant ascribing to them, in some limited degree at least, a certain *naturalism*. There is sufficient respect for the rôle of reason and for the use of it in investigating causes (even where religious matters are concerned) to speak of a healthy *rationalism*. There is finally so evident an interest in the ordinary, every-day, earthly life of men (whether their own personal experiences or those of others around them) to permit us to speak of a true *humanism* (in the sense, at least, that we are able to speak of a man like Shakespeare as a "humanist"). All of these same traits are present in the Humanism of the later Renaissance: indeed, they are held to be characteristic of it and to influence the view of human life and conduct, the art, the politics, etc., of that period. It used to be customary to regard them as, in some way, the result of a turning again to antiquity for inspiration, the result therefore of humanism taken in the narrower sense of an interest in the art, letters, philosophy and life of antiquity as revealed in a renewed and closer study of these in original sources. If I am not mistaken, more recent students of the Renaissance reverse the order.⁸ The tendency now is to see a profound economic, political and social crisis, as well as intellectual, moral and religious, developing in Western Europe, at least from the beginning of the fourteenth century on. The resultant Renaissance society that begins to evolve finds inspiration and models more suited to its culture in the Classics rather than in the "feudal" and "ecclesiastical" tradition of the foregoing period. The revival of antiquity does act as a causative force, but as a secondary one only; it proves congenial only because of antecedent and contemporary changes in the entire social and intellectual structure. I believe the case is similar for the twelfth century. That there is a revived interest in the Classics of Rome (Seneca, Horace, Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, Lucan, Livy, Perseus, Juvenal, the Grammarians, etc.) is beyond question. That they affected the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" is likewise clear, but they did not cause it. There is a movement already in progress in art, letters and thought, as well as in social, economic and political forms. It is quite possible of course that, in this case as in the later one, scholars found in the writers of antiquity a spirit congenial to these newer forms and ideas and that these then served to advance the movement yet further.

The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century never moves out of a distinctly Christian framework and, for all their interest in nature, man and reason, the writers of the period see man primarily as a creature of God destined to a supernatural (and therefore more than purely human) life, the achievement of which is to take place in the course of his earthly existence in time and space and must be always his chief

⁸ Cf. W. K. Ferguson, "The Renaissance: a Synthesis", *Renaissance News*, III (1950), 42-43.

concern, however real and preoccupying his engagement in temporal and terrestrial things may be. There is unquestionably something new and fresh about the twelfth century's interest in man, reason and nature. But there is never any question, for the people of this time, of these replacing God, faith and grace. The emphasis upon them in the twelfth century has a quite different result: it begins to pose, perhaps as never before, the problem of the proper relationship of the two in a single synthesis, the problem of the autonomy of those things on the natural side which had tended to be underestimated, if not submerged, in the previous period, the problem, too, of the part that these very things have to play in the achieving of man's overall destiny. The twelfth century does little more than raise these problems by its acuter awareness of the natural, temporal and even secular aspects of human life. It is the thirteenth century that moves towards solutions, both in the doctrinal teaching of the schools and in the concrete reality of experience, although the latter is not always the fruit of a conscious application of the former. In the realm of theory, there comes immediately to mind a synthesis like the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas, where reason has a noble rôle in the science of God and where the author's chief preoccupation is to show the exact relationship that exists between reason and faith, nature and grace, man and God, without minimizing for a single instant the rôle of the former in each of these pairs.⁹ In the practical order, on the other hand, political events bring the concept of an autonomous temporal state to the fore and, from the thirteenth century on, political philosophy takes a new turn. Changing economic conditions likewise effect changes; the urbanization of life and the development of commerce focus attention on material things, on their use and their exploitation, in such a way as to necessitate the integration of these into the Christian society of the time. Even the very life of the Church sees a new pattern emerge. Monastic withdrawal, which had been regarded as the perfect condition for achieving the ideal expression of the City of God upon earth, can no longer meet the needs; the leaven has to be cast into the world where a new civilization is arising; the meeting of the Church and the world becomes somewhat more like that of apostolic times and ways have to be found whereby the light of evangelical truths can be refracted into a new social economy. The appearance of the Franciscans and Dominicans is at least one response to the challenge: a form of religious life resulting from, based upon, and intended for, the growing towns and cities.

Our twelfth century is still far from all this; it reveals rather just the acceptance of profane realities at the modest level of everyday experience of terrestrial life: a very modest humanism no doubt, not unmixed with reactionary criticism even on the part of those who exemplify it, but a real humanism, I trust, for all its limitations.

⁹ His texts on the freedom and responsibility of man, for instance, or on the rôle of human providence, on man as co-creator with God, are, in a sense, as profoundly humanist as anything written by pagan authors.

DISCUSSION

Professor Lower asked if *Father Flahiff* had read *Professor White's* paper in the "American Historical Review" in which the author coupled a new interest in Nature and life to the swing from Platonism to Aristotalianism. Architecture had reflected this trend. By the Twelfth Century Europe was settling down and experiencing freshening currents of trade. We are looking at a new civilization in Western Europe. *N. C. Cantor* said that the idea of the Renaissance should be abandoned by historians. Recent historical work on the 11th and 12 centuries has seemed to modify old attitudes towards the Middle Ages. To view the whole Middle Ages as a succession of Renaissances and recessions was naive. He suggested that *Father Flahiff* did not fully appreciate the importance of the German and Italian writers of the eleventh century who dealt with fundamental problems of men and human nature — such for instance as *Peter Damiani*. Too much has been made of a knowledge of *Cicero* as the sign of intellectual rebirth. This rebirth goes back beyond the twelfth to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The coming to the fore of dialectic in the Middle Ages must be emphasized. It came as early as the tenth century. *John of Salisbury* was behind the times in deploring this. Secularism and Cynicism were well defined in European thought by 1170. *Father Flahiff* said that the word Renaissance can with justification be applied to the twelfth century, though it was an unfortunate word. It really meant a new mental climate. He felt that the twelfth century was a century of vigour and was more entitled to the name than any of the others. In the eleventh century the problems were being stated in terms of a one society concept. The idea of the temporal state was beginning to emerge in the twelfth century. By the thirteenth century it was a fact. He felt that *Mr. Cantor* had done him and *John of Salisbury* an injustice by drawing attention to a single remark quoted from *John of Salisbury*. *John of Salisbury* did in fact have a great respect for logic. He referred to the spirit of anti-clericalism in the towns; but the towns did not fit into the feudal pattern. Anti-clericalism and a spirit of freedom and independence was definitely apparent in the twelfth century. *Dean Fieldhouse* said that in the 1920's the C.H.A. was absorbed in Responsible Government and Exploration; in the 1930's joint sessions were held with the C.P.S.A. in symposium form; in the 1940's papers were grouped about various selected topics. The programmes in the 1950's are now diverse in character and include general papers on European, medieval and British history as well as on Canadian history. In these circumstances he suggested that papers might well be mimeographed for distribution prior to the meetings and that the authors might give only a summary of their sources and their main thesis. In this way it would be possible to get more and worthwhile discussion. *Mr. Powicke* appreciated the inclusion of this part of the program, found the papers good and interesting, and felt that there was an obvious healthy response under the present method of programming.

SOME THOUGHTS ON CANADIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

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CANADA'S development in the last two decades has been almost as striking in her external relations as in domestic progress. If we compare our foreign policy with that of the mid-1930's there are certain particulars — and they are by no means minor ones — in which the changes will appear so dramatic as to amount almost to a complete reversal. For example, it would not be wholly wide of the mark, though an over-simplification, to say that before World War II Canada often appeared to be seeking peace through a policy of avoiding commitments; whereas during recent years we have been ready to assume them as the main element in our hope for security.

It is, I think, useful to consider to what extent we have, in fact, during the past few decades changed the fundamental principles underlying our foreign policy; and to what extent we have merely developed and adapted them to altered circumstances.

Early in 1937, Mr. Escott Reid, now our High Commissioner in New Delhi, but then National Secretary of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, analyzed in an article in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Mr. Mackenzie King's foreign policy and summed it up in certain practices and principles.

He had this to say, first, about our practice in declaring policy: "Since the war" (the 1914-18 war) "imprecision has been the common characteristic of most statements on foreign policy by Canadian Prime Ministers. In this the Prime Ministers of Canada have not been unique. As Mr. Harold Nicholson has pointed out, though 'the essence of a good foreign policy is certitude' and though 'an uncertain policy is always bad' yet 'on the other hand a parliamentary and press opposition is less likely to concentrate against an elastic foreign policy than against one which is precise. It is thus a grave temptation for a foreign minister under the democratic system to prefer an idealistic formula, which raises only intellectual criticism, to a concrete formula which is open to popular attack'."

Well, you don't have to be a politician, like myself, to know what Mr. Reid and Mr. Nicholson meant by that. It is always safe, politically, to say that you are against sin. It sounds well. Whereas to be precise on a controversial issue is often — well, controversial.

Furthermore, when there could be two views on an issue, political or domestic, prudence may in certain circumstances suggest vagueness and imprecision. In our pre-war foreign policy, it often did.

But there is an opposite danger: that of confusing precision with rigidity. There are certain situations in which too rigid a formulation of policy, and too precise an expression of it could prove costly and conceivably even disastrous. Yet in times of strong popular passion,

bold and sweeping assertions may appear momentarily popular, and may prove alluring to the demagogue. If a complex issue is popularly seen in the over-simplified colours of black and white, the easy course may be to make a dogmatic pronouncement — to proclaim loudly that whatever the circumstances, you yourself will stand rigidly on the side of righteousness, or at least on the side that appeals most to public opinion of the moment. There is, in fact, a tendency today to reduce democracy to a sort of competition in popular superlatives — either for or against.

There are occasions, of course, and issues when a man or nation "must decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side". But there are others, and they are the more numerous, when the merits of a situation are by no means so simple, or the right solution so clear-cut and easy to find: except, of course, for those who are sure that on our side all men are wholly saints, and the others irredeemable sinners.

Self-righteousness is still a cheap and easy temptation. Just as absolute monarchies could be a prey to hypocrisy and insincerity in their courtiers, democracies are not necessarily inoculated against the same unamiable characteristics in those who seek power.

There is also the danger of the well-meaning but limited mind creating rigidity — and thereby preventing growth — because its imagination of the moment is not equal to the almost infinite variety of fact and circumstance in any given situation.

I could give current examples, but perhaps I shouldn't.

Judging from the debate this spring in our House of Commons on external affairs, some Canadians might have considered it desirable officially to state, as indeed has been stated elsewhere, that we would never recognize Communist China.

There was a popular song of the 1930's, which ran, "I'll never say 'never again' again". As I recall it was a young man in love who learned that wisdom. The same lesson can, however, apply to diplomats or foreign ministers. It may look vigorous, and decisive, and courageous, to burn bridges in front of you — but it is seldom wise. It is certainly not the historical approach to international problems!

It is, I think, more than normally easy to fall into the danger of excessive precision and undue rigidity on the eve of an international conference. This is particularly tempting in the case of a conference with a dangerous ideological enemy; especially if it is a conference designed to put an end to inconclusive but costly fighting. One can even find oneself under contradictory pressures from the same well-intentioned sources, (a) to bring the boys back home by negotiating a settlement, (b) not even to talk to the enemy with whom any settlement would have to be negotiated.

Even if you avoid these particular pitfalls, as I have indicated you may run into the lesser, but nonetheless serious, danger of being urged to adopt in advance, and to announce, principles so rigid that they leave no room for manoeuvre or negotiation.

If diplomacy, however, is to get anywhere, it must avoid not only the excessive flexibility of the jelly fish, but the excessive rigidity of a mastodon. Remember what happened to mastodons!

Historians may come to consider "Unconditional surrender" a diplomatic demand of questionable wisdom even in an all-out and victorious war. Certainly it is out of place in a localized conflict of limited objectives. Yet an international "police action" is, as I see it, precisely that: and one of our basic purposes in such actions must be to keep our objectives limited and the fighting localized so that it can be ended without the holocaust entailed in the destruction of great societies.

On a different plane, some people might counter the doctrine that "an uncertain policy is always bad", with the desirability of "keeping them guessing". If this can be applied to the potential enemy rather than to your allies, then in a cold war situation the doctrine may have something to be said for it. But even here the uncertainty should be limited to non-essentials. It would, for instance, be morally wrong, and politically unwise, to allow the slightest uncertainty on the fundamental point that, in default of anything better, we on our side of this "cold war" accept co-existence, not merely as a temporary tactic, but as firm policy: that our purposes are defensive and pacific; that we will never start a world war. We must do all we can to prevent responsible persons in any part of the world concluding that war is inevitable, lest they ever be tempted to the desperate and fatal expedient of launching a preventive aggression.

On this fundamental point, therefore, let us not keep anyone guessing. Our purposes are defensive, and defensive alone. On this at least, let us be utterly precise. Rigid, if you like.

So much, then, for Mr. Reid's first point — precision or the lack of it in the practice of diplomacy and foreign policy.

Of the *principles* which Mr. Escott Reid found in Canada's pre-war foreign policy, some of them have clearly been modified not a little since he wrote. It is interesting to relate them to the situation of 1954.

Two of these principles laid it down that Canada was under no special obligation to participate in the military or economic sanctions of the League of Nations. Well, as you know, most Canadians as well as other peoples came to realize, after the tragic mistakes in our dealings with Hitler and Mussolini, that there was little safety in a policy of no commitments, no collective obligations. In the United Nations Charter, we therefore willingly accepted certain quite explicit commitments for a system of collective security. This could have proved workable if the co-operation of the Soviet Union with the West had continued after World War II. When this expectation proved unfounded, our Prime Minister voiced, I think, the feelings of the great majority of Canadians when he suggested, in a memorable speech to the United Nations General Assembly in 1947, that more explicit obligations for collective security than those of the Charter might be adopted by those countries who would be prepared to accept them. This proposal became one of the sources of the North Atlantic Treaty.

Quite apart from our NATO obligations, which are quite explicit, Canada has also accepted certain collective security obligations, moral if not legal, in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of the United

Nations General Assembly. These are, of course, in addition to the general obligations of the Charter.

That these various military and political obligations are by no means academic is amply evidenced by the fact that at the present time Canada is maintaining an air division in Europe, and an infantry brigade in Korea and one in Germany.

As contrasted with Canada's unwillingness, in the 1930's, to accept an obligation to participate even in economic sanctions of the League of Nations, Canada is today participating not merely in such sanctions under a United Nations resolution (against Communist China, as a result of its declared aggression against Korea), but in collective measures, prudential rather than punitive, which have been adopted by a group representing many of the free nations of the world, to limit or prevent trade in strategic materials with the communist totalitarian nations of Eastern Europe.

I do not myself accept the argument that our claim to have accepted, as a Canadian Government, our fair share of responsibility for collective security is weakened by hesitation now to undertake additional specific defence commitments in other areas than the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe, the Mediterranean and Turkey.

It is not, I think, a valid criticism that we are inconsistent and weak if we show great caution in joining any collective defence arrangements for Southeast Asia, which might not include the most important free Asian countries, and which would probably include commitments for Canadian participation in military planning and defence contributions of men and material, such as we have already undertaken in NATO.

I think also that the special obligations we have already assumed, along with the fact that we take seriously our United Nations collective security commitments, gives any Canadian Government the right, and, indeed, imposes on it the duty, to make its own views clearly known, and even to produce its own 'formulae' in respect of situations anywhere which threaten the peace and which might bring about that general conflict, the dread consequences of which we could not escape.

It should be remembered, however, that this earlier Canadian policy of refusing to accept the obligations of collective security was motivated primarily by domestic considerations, by the desire to avoid taking up a position on issues which would split the country. It was, therefore, in substantial part a deduction from another principle — the maintenance of domestic unity.

This anxious preoccupation with the danger of provoking domestic disunity was the most important consideration behind that principle of our foreign policy in the 1930's, formulated by Mr. Reid as follows:

"Canada should, as a general rule, occupy a back seat at Geneva or elsewhere when European or Asiatic problems are being discussed."

This back-seat policy did not mean that the Canadian Government was content to follow where others led. Rather, we tried to be so inconspicuous that a leader would not know whether we were following him or not; or, to put it another way, to avoid anything that could be interpreted even as an implied moral commitment to

share in the responsibility of putting things right if the situation in Europe or Africa or Asia should deteriorate. We were cautious about joining even in the discussion of dangerous issues. It was not, in fact, a policy of disinterest: but it often was made deliberately to appear so.

It would, I think, be wrong to believe that pre-war governments of Canada were naive enough seriously to expect that a policy of avoiding commitment could really keep us free from entanglement in a general war, should one develop. There were, of course, people in this country who believed that if we buried our heads in the Canadian sand we could avoid the effects of the storm. But this optimistic viewpoint was never, I think, held by the majority of those, in any section of our country, who thought about international affairs. The real reason behind the so-called "back-seat" policy of pre-war Canadian Governments lay in the profound differences of opinion on European affairs held by important sections of our countrymen. International commitments were avoided not so much, I think, because they might involve us in international military responsibilities abroad, but because they would certainly have involved us in domestic political difficulties at home.

Thus each of those dogmas of our pre-war foreign policy, which Canada has so dramatically reversed since 1939 — imprecision, no commitments, and a reluctance even to consult with other nations on the major issues which could threaten the peace — were corollaries of what Mr. Reid stated — and I think rightly — to be the first and guiding principle in the formulation of Canada's foreign policy: "the maintenance of the unity of Canada as a nation".

Mr. King himself put this first principle of his foreign policy in the following terms, at the time of the Rhineland crisis in 1936:

"I believe that Canada's first duty to the League and to the British Empire, with respect to *all* the great issues that come up, is if possible to keep this country united."

The fact that since 1945 Canadians have been able to reverse almost all the corollaries which Mr. King drew in pre-war circumstances from the paramount necessity of national unity, has been due in part to the lessons of World War II itself, due also in part to the nature of the threat to peace since that war — communist imperialism. But it is also a monument to the success of the policies which during the past several decades have welded this nation together.

It is still the fundamental principle of wise statesmanship in Canada — and I hope it will always be recognized as such — that on important issues the nation's leaders should seek and pursue a policy which will, if possible, commend itself to a majority of our people in each section of the country. This is, of course, only possible to the extent that there is, among us all, a sense of restraint and responsibility, and sufficient intellectual flexibility and moral stature to be able to understand another section's point of view, when it differs from our own, and to respect it even though we may not agree with it.

Canadian unity has been maintained and consolidated precisely because a sufficient number of our people, in all sections, have developed these moral and intellectual qualities of self-discipline in a degree adequate to the challenges and crisis which we have faced. If we can

today have a positive foreign policy, it is precisely because of the degree of internal cohesion and unity which we have achieved.

This does not, of course, mean that national unity can be taken for granted. But our society of two cultures has by now reached the more mature stage where foreign policy can be formulated as a result primarily of a dispassionate analysis of the foreign situation.

In the '30's then, we were intensely preoccupied with the effect of our foreign policy on the unity of our country. But in the '50's we are also concerned with the connection between that policy and the unity of the coalition against aggression, in which Canada is playing an active part. Hence the problem of seeking unity has been vastly enlarged in scope and complexity.

With the fantastic development in weapons and communications which technologists have produced, the effective scale of political affairs on our planet is rapidly changing. And as the scale changes the effective unit of manoeuvre in international politics changes too. Today no nation, not even the greatest, is big enough to be a fully effective unit of foreign policy.

In the 19th century, and to a large extent too in the first half of this one, most of the problems of foreign policy were problems within our Western civilization: usually problems between European states. Today the most challenging and most significant issues are found in the relations between two concepts of world organization and in the emergence of new Asian states, free and insistent.

The main problems of foreign policy in a democracy now have to be assessed, and day to day decisions taken, against this background of global relations between civilizations. And against this background it is of course obvious that our greatest need, our one indispensable asset, is unity among those who are working together to defend freedom and maintain peace. Today we certainly cannot take this unity for granted.

It is not easy, but it should be possible, for democratic statesmen to cultivate effective cohesion and co-operation within a coalition. For one thing, successful politicians in a democracy are inevitably schooled to sense quickly, almost before they appear, the first signs of disunity within their own section or nation.

Again, when action is needed, careful and timely consultation is the democratic politician's stock in trade. Anyone experienced in the operations of a democracy, with its committees, cabinets, caucuses, trade union meetings, or boards of directors, knows or soon learns the value of having private consultations with his leading associates, before confronting them in public with the need to pronounce judgment on a new issue. These processes are equally important in a coalition of states. They are not always followed. But I think that — in our coalition against aggression — we are improving our techniques of co-operation, and more important, increasingly acquiring the habit of consultation. We are learning the value of prior discussion — not as a substitute for action — but as essential for united action.

Needless to say, consultation does not mean merely the opportunity either to share in responsibility for implementing a decision already taken, or alternatively to stand aside. Consultation means the

opportunity to participate in the give and take of ideas, the weighing of pros and cons, and the formulation of policy.

This may seem like a "tall order" between a group of sovereign states — varying so much in power and influence as is the case with the members of our Atlantic coalition. It is a "tall order", and its achievement will take considerable time. In crises, indeed, something less may seem to suffice or may have to suffice. But eventually nothing less than this true consultation will be adequate to consolidate a coalition of free peoples, and to forge out of several democracies a unity deep and strong enough for the international situation of risk and menace with which we may have to live for a long time.

This broader responsibility does not in any sense remove, or weaken, the direct constitutional responsibility of each democratic government to its own nation. It is something additional. It is nothing formalized. It is, rather, an attitude which must be developed, a quality of outlook that must be achieved.

This requirement of unity will put a premium on those qualities of detachment, patience, and moral courage which any politician in a democracy needs from time to time if he is to stand firm despite the passing currents and passions of the moment. For though not only interests but intellectual appreciation and the understanding of a situation may be shared in common throughout a coalition, yet the emotions and passions of political moods are usually limited to a single country; at times, indeed, to a section thereof.

As Gouzenko, and Kravchenko, and Petrov, and many others have proved, the free individual is the Achilles' heel of totalitarianism. But a democratic coalition also has its Achilles' heel; in the temptations, which can beset any democratic politician, to yield too much to expediency, to the claims of immediate time and place and circumstance.

Above all, if we are to make a coalition work, we must accustom ourselves to living with requirements and within a framework, broader than that of our own state.

This will apply, of course, to the economic as well as to other aspects of policy. Excessive economic nationalism, if unchecked, will sooner or later corrode any coalition, and weaken until it destroys co-operation and unity in foreign or defence policies. Attitudes to neighbours and allies cannot be kept in water-tight compartments.

Finally, those people within our coalition whose strength gives them a position of leadership have a special obligation to cultivate the self-denying qualities of patience, restraint and tolerance. In their turn, the smaller and less strong members will have to demonstrate, not a surrender of their identity or free judgment, which would be undesirable and impossible, but a sense of proportion and accommodation and a recognition that the acceptance of leadership and the possession of power warrant special influence and weight in the counsels of the coalition.

An acceptance of the over-riding claims of unity, and the acceptance of the delays and concessions which are sometimes necessary to cultivate it, come hardest, of course, to the strongest: for a consciousness of strength naturally encourages self-confidence and is apt to induce a tendency to take for granted the acquiescence of others. The

less strong members of a coalition probably find it easier than the stronger to be conscious of the anxieties and attitudes of others; and easier also to recognize the perils of disunity within the greater society of which they form a part.

The importance of doing what we can to strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of our Atlantic coalition is, in one sense, then, a new, though a very important principle of Canadian foreign policy. In another sense, however, it is merely a new expression of something that always has been considered a main objective of that policy; good relations and close co-operation between the United Kingdom and the United States. Canada's absorption in this objective is as old as the Canadian nation. That is why Mr. Reid stated as his second principle that Canadian foreign policy was, in the main, not a matter of Canadian relations to the League of Nations, but of Canadian relations to the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The first part of that statement does not apply today for we take the United Nations far more seriously than ever we did the old League. But the latter part remains valid — with this difference. In the thirties our relations with the United Kingdom and the United States were, in the main, direct. Now they are to a large extent concerned with them as members of a coalition of which Canada is itself a member. That is one reason why Canada is so strong a supporter of such an organization as NATO; it is a vehicle of Anglo-American-Canadian co-operation as well as a bulwark of peace. The triangle rests more comfortably in such a system.

I could, Mr. Chairman, say much more on this subject, "Thoughts on Canada's External Affairs", but I have gone on long enough. My thoughts have not, I fear, been very original, but I hope they may stimulate some discussion and provoke some enquiry.

You may have heard of the story of a conversation between H. G. Wells and a friend, which was interrupted by Bernard Shaw with a question as to what they were speaking about. "I was just thinking out loud," said Mr. Wells. "Oh," replied Shaw, "I thought I heard a faint sound." My faint sound, Mr. Chairman, has ended.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES, 1953-54

BY THE NATIONAL PARKS AND HISTORIC SITES SERVICE, NATIONAL
PARKS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS
AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

THE RESTORATION, preservation, and administration of national historic parks and sites and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding persons in Canadian history is carried on by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources through National Parks and Historic Sites Service. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an honorary body of recognized historians, representing the ten provinces of the Dominion, acts in an advisory capacity to the Minister in this work. The Board was placed on a statutory basis by the Historic Sites and Monuments Act in 1953.

The personnel of the Board is as follows: Chairman, Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario; Professor D. C. Harvey, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Honourable E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, Quebec; the Reverend Antoine d'Eschambault, Genthon, Manitoba; Professor M. H. Long, Edmonton, Alberta; Dr. Walter N. Sage, Vancouver, British Columbia; the Honourable Thane A. Campbell, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; Dr. Wm. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ontario; C. E. A. Jeffery, St. John's, Newfoundland; Dr. Alfred G. Bailey, Fredericton, New Brunswick; Campbell Innes, Battleford, Saskatchewan; Dr. F. J. Alcock, Ottawa, Ontario. C. G. Childe, National Parks and Historic Sites Services, Ottawa, Ontario, is Secretary to the Board.

The annual meeting of the Board was held in Ottawa, May 26 - 29, 1953, when a wide variety of matters relating to the background of Canada were reviewed. Of the many sites that have been considered by the Board to date, 477 have been marked or acquired and 188 others recommended for attention at a later date.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

Fort Anne National Historic Park is situated in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The museum building, restored in 1935, was originally the Officers' Quarters and was built in 1797-8 under the supervision of Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, when he was commander-in-chief of the British Forces in North America with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The west side and south end of the museum building and some of the interior woodwork were painted as well as the band stand, chain fence, cannon balls, park benches, flag pole, sentry box and wooden signs. The doors of the furnace room were covered with galvanized iron as a fire prevention measure. A new sewer system and septic tank were installed, hard surfacing was laid for a width of approximately ten feet around the museum building, and the wheels of some of the cannon were repaired. The monument to *Sieur de Monts* was repaired, all tablets in the park were cleaned, the hedges and shrubbery were trimmed, improvement work was carried out on the driveway

and paths and additional exhibits of interest were obtained for the museum.

A total of 19,297 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Port Royal National Historic Park is situated at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. A replica of the group of buildings, which sheltered the first European settlers in Canada, has been erected on the exact site where the Port Royal Habitation stood nearly three and a half centuries ago. The original Habitation was the headquarters, for about two years, of Samuel de Champlain, famous explorer and chief geographer to Henry IV of France. Champlain chose the location and drew up the plan of settlement.

Crib work and stone fill was placed along the river bank in front of the Habitation to prevent erosion. Preserving oil was applied to the shingle roofs of the buildings and all iron work in the buildings was cleaned. A section of the fence enclosing the park was taken down and replaced and the remainder was repaired. The driveway at the park and the road leading to Scots Fort were repaired, the parking area was enlarged, picnic tables were supplied, the rest rooms were painted and the lawns were rolled and trimmed.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 15,746.

Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park is situated about three miles from the town of Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Here were enacted the early stages of the long struggle which culminated in the possession of Canada for the British Crown. Louisbourg was erected more than two centuries ago by the French, who had named the settlement in honour of Louis XIV, King of France. It was captured by the British forces in 1745, but was subsequently handed back to the French. The fortress was again besieged by the English and finally captured by them in 1758. It is interesting to recall that one of the brigades of infantry engaged in the recapture of Louisbourg was commanded by General Wolfe, who was later to die heroically at Quebec.

Additional restoration work was carried out on the remains of the Hospital. The entrance road which was damaged by heavy gales was repaired, graded and levelled. Improvements were made to the parking area, the lawns were levelled and seeded, and the Texas gate at the entrance to the park was rebuilt. The rest rooms and boiler and pump rooms were painted, as well as the exterior woodwork of the museum building and Custodian's residence and all signs within the park. The iron fence around the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars was also painted and the picket fence enclosing the park was repaired. The bronze tablets were cleaned, culverts repaired and the grounds maintained in good condition.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 20,497.

Fort Beausejour National Historic Park is situated near Sackville, New Brunswick. Built by the French, the fort was intended to be an Acadian stronghold against the undefined claims of the English to Acadia. Around the fort the Acadians had their homes and farms. It was captured by the British, under Monckton, in 1755, when the fort was strengthened and its defenses extended by a system of entrenchments, traces of which still remain.

The signs along the highway nearby and within the park were painted as well as the rest rooms. All the bronze tablets on the grounds were cleaned. The heating system in the museum building was repaired, a new display case was donated, the lawn was rolled, flowers were planted and the grass along the paths and around the parking area was trimmed.

A total of 21,430 persons signed the visitors book.

Fort Chambly National Historic Park is situated about twenty miles southeast of Montreal, on a conspicuous headland on the Richelieu River. The first fort, built by the French in 1665 as a protection against the Iroquois, was of wooden construction. After many vicissitudes, it was rebuilt of stone, this work being completed in 1711. In 1760 the fort was surrendered to the British, who, with a small armed force, held it until 1775. In that year the Americans captured the fort, which they evacuated in the following year. The fort was later repaired and garrisoned by Sir Guy Carleton and played an important part in the War of 1812.

Additional repointing was carried out on the old walls of the fort and on the retaining wall near the rapids; the angle iron picket fence was painted, as well as the picnic tables, park benches, rest rooms, the main entrance door to the fort and some of the interior and exterior woodwork of the museum building. Flag stones were laid around the water stand in the picnic grounds, repairs were made to the public shelter, the parking area was repaired and levelled, the trees were trimmed, signs were erected, and the paths were raked and trimmed.

During the year 72,320 persons signed the museum register book.

Fort Lennox National Historic Park is located on Ile-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, about thirteen miles south of St. John's, Quebec. The present fort, which stands near the site of one previously erected by the French, was built by the Imperial authorities in the period from 1812 to 1827. The island, comprising an area of 150 acres, was acquired by the National Parks Service in 1921, and extensive works have since been carried out on the buildings and grounds.

The old bridge at the south entrance was dismantled and a new one constructed; the stone arch at the main entrance to the fort was repointed and additional new flooring was laid in the mens' barracks. Repairs were made to the landing dock on the east side of the island and also to the doors of the powder magazine and casemates. The roofs of several of the buildings were painted as well as the picnic tables, signs, boat house, stable, barn, and the floors of the museum and rest rooms. The windows of the various buildings were repaired, the lawn on the parade ground was levelled and rolled, the grass along the ramparts and in the cemeteries was trimmed, and the bronze tablets on the island were cleaned.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 8,829.

Fort Wellington National Historic Park is situated at the east end of the town of Prescott, Ontario, and adjacent to Highway No. 2. The fort, named after the Duke of Wellington, was erected when the British authorities decided to fortify Prescott as one of the most vulnerable points of attack in the War of 1812, and as the main base for the defence of communications between Kingston and Montreal. It remains as it was when finally completed in 1838, an impressive landmark.

The blockhouse and caponniere were re-shingled, the fort buildings were painted, and repairs were made to the palisades and to the chimney of the original officers' quarters which is now used as the custodian's residence. The grass on the front of the park property and on the lawn and inner mounds was trimmed, the moat was cleaned, flowers were planted and additional exhibits of interest were obtained for the museum.

A total of 8,134 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Fort Malden National Historic Park is situated in Amherstburg, Ontario. The fort was built in 1797-9 by the Second Battalion, Royal Canadian Volunteers. It was strengthened in 1812 as the principal military station on the western frontier and dismantled and abandoned in September, 1813. Only slight evidences of the original fortifications remain.

A burglar alarm system was installed in the stone museum building and a similar system will be installed in the "Old Fort" building. Crushed stone was spread on the driveway and paths, a small bridge was constructed across the moat, steps were built on the side of the north-west bastion and a concrete base was made for a capstan which has been donated to the park. A large exhibit case was obtained for the museum, the entrance door to the stone building was painted, and the ceilings of the Coin and Pioneer rooms were repaired. The grass on the lawns was cut and the trees and shrubs were trimmed. Additional exhibits of interest were received, including a model of Fort Malden which was presented by the Hough family of Amherstburg in memory of the late F. A. Hough whose family owned a part of the present park.

During the year 17,418 persons signed the museum register.

Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park is situated on the west bank of the Red River about twenty miles north of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately 12.75 acres. It was built between 1831 and 1839 by the Hudson's Bay Company and, although never besieged, played an important part in meeting the threat of war and rebellion. Indian Treaty No. 1 was signed there on August 3, 1871. It remained a place of considerable importance until about 1882 when the head of navigation for the Red River was removed from there to old Colville Landing on the opposite side of the river near Selkirk. It was transferred to the Canadian Government in 1951 subject to the continuance of a lease of the buildings and grounds to the Motor Country Club until December 31, 1955.

Restoration work undertaken during the year included the repairing of rotting timbers, tracing and re-establishing drains, repairing and repointing the masonry of the walls and bastions, and repairing the roofs, eaves troughs, windows and doors of the various buildings.

Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park is situated at the mouth of Churchill River, Churchill, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately fifty acres. The fort was built from plans drawn by English military engineers to secure control of Hudson Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company and England. Construction was commenced in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was surrendered to, and partially destroyed by, a French naval force under La Perouse in 1782. Its

ruins, which are among the most interesting military remains on this continent, have been partly restored and more than forty cannon have been unearthed. Those suitable have been mounted on the walls of the fort.

General supervision was carried out.

Fort Battleford National Historic Park is situated in the Town-site of Battleford, four miles south of the City of North Battleford and comprises 36.7 acres. The buildings include the Superintendent's House, Inspector's Cottage, Guard Room, Hospital, Stable, and Barracks. The first three buildings formed part of the original Mounted Police Post established there in 1876 by Colonel James Walker and linked up with such posts as Macleod, Fort Walsh, Calgary, Edmonton, Carlton, and Swan River. Located in the territory of the Cree Indian, this old post had a stabilizing and encouraging effect in the settlement of the Prairie Provinces, and, during the Rebellion of 1885, many settlers sought shelter and protection there. It was also the place of execution of those who were sentenced to death for participation in the Frog Lake Massacre.

New museum equipment included additional cases to display the firearms and a large plate glass walk-in case to display the old uniforms which are on mannequins. The exhibits were cleaned and rearranged and additional items of interest were obtained. The fence enclosing the park property was repaired and the well was lined with cement and made ready to receive the pump which is to be installed. The entrance road was repaired, signs were erected and the lawns were trimmed and sprayed.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 11,391.

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

Fort William, St. John's, Newfoundland. A tablet was erected in the entrance lobby of the Newfoundland Hotel to mark the site of Fort William, built early in the seventeenth century. It was attacked three times by the French from Placentia and in 1696 Le Moyne d'Iberville destroyed the fort and settlement. Restored in 1697, it withstood an attack under Subercase in 1705, but in 1708 capitulated to St. Ovide de Brouillon who destroyed St. John's. In 1762 a force under Comte d'Haussonville, arrived from France and captured the fort. Troops led by Colonel William Amherst routed the French on Signal Hill and compelled d'Haussonville to surrender. The tablet was unveiled by the Hon. J. R. Smallwood, Premier of Newfoundland, on November 30, 1953.

Fort Townshend, St. John's, Newfoundland. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in a small park at the intersection of Military Road and Harvey Road to mark the site of Fort Townshend, constructed in 1773-79 under Governor Lord Shuldhham. It became the headquarters of the garrison and communication with Fort William was established by Military Road. In 1796, during the war with France, a French fleet which had approached the harbour withdrew after observing the strength of the defences. The garrison was disbanded in 1871. The monument was unveiled by the Hon. Lieut. Col. Sir L. C. Outerbridge, Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland, on November 25, 1953.

The Sack of Lunenburg, Lunenburg, N. S. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in Victoria Park to commemorate the Sack of Lunenburg. On July 1, 1782, while most of its men were absent, the Town of Lunenburg was invaded by a fleet of six sail from Boston, in reprisal for capture of the Brig "Sally" in 1780. After taking the eastern blockhouse, with its defenders Colonel Creighton and five men, and occupying the western defences, the invaders then plundered the King's stores at the foot of King Street, the shops and principal houses. They prevented the county militia, assembled under Major Pernette on the hill behind the Town, from attacking them by exacting a promissory note of £1000 as ransom and by threatening to burn the Town. The tablet was unveiled on June 8, 1953, by Mr. J. Creighton of Lunenburg, a descendant of Colonel Creighton who defended the Town against the invaders.

The "Bluenose", Lunenburg, N. S. A tablet was affixed to the Sack of Lunenburg monument in Victoria Park to commemorate the feats of the "Bluenose", 1921-1946, champion of the International Schooner Races, and symbol of the transformation of an inland people into leading deep sea fishermen of the North Atlantic. German, French and Swiss immigrants were planted there as farmers in 1753, and after clearing the wilderness and practising the coastal fisheries, gradually went on to the Banks, where they vied with the fishermen of Gloucester, their competitors in the International Schooner Races. An additional tablet bearing a likeness of the "Bluenose" in relief was also affixed to the monument. These tablets were unveiled on June 8, 1953, by Captain Angus Walters, who was skipper of the "Bluenose" throughout her fishing and racing career.

Margaret Marshall Saunders, C.B.E., Milton, N. S. A tablet was affixed to the Masonic Hall to Margaret Marshall Saunders, author of "Beautiful Joe" which won for her international fame and membership in humane societies of America and Great Britain. She was born at Milton, April 13, 1861, and died in Toronto, February 15, 1947. The tablet was unveiled on September 2, 1953.

The Arts Building, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B. A tablet was erected in the Arts Building marking it as the oldest existing university building in Canada. It was built in 1828 for King's College, later The University of New Brunswick and was opened by Sir Howard Douglas, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, on January 1, 1829.

Viscount Richard Bedford Bennett, Hopewell Cape, N. B. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in a small park to Viscount Richard Bedford Bennett. Of early colonial stock, he practised law in Chatham, N. B., and for many years in Calgary, Alta., having moved to the Northwest in 1897. He was elected from Calgary to the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories in 1898, to the Alberta Legislature in 1909, and to Parliament in 1911, and was long in the forefront of public life and Prime Minister of Canada from 1930 to 1935. Retiring in 1939 to live in England, he was raised to the peerage in 1941 as Viscount Bennett of Mickleham, Calgary and Hopewell. He was born at Hopewell, N. B. July 3, 1870 and died at Mickleham, England, June 27, 1947. The monument was unveiled by his brother, Captain R. V. Bennett, on October 16,

1953, the principal address being given by the Hon. Milton F. Gregg, Minister of Labour.

Sir Albert James Smith, K.C.M.G., Dorchester, N. B. A boulder and tablet was erected on the grounds of the Court House to Sir Albert James Smith, jurist and legislator. He was Premier of New Brunswick, 1865-66, and Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1873-78. He was born at Shediac, March 12, 1823, and died at Dorchester, June 30, 1883.

Louis Guillaume Verrier, Quebec, P. Q. A tablet was affixed to the Law Faculty Building, Laval University, to Louis Guillaume Verrier. He was admitted to the Paris Bar in 1712, appointed Attorney General for the Superior Court of Quebec in 1728, and in 1733 founded the first law school north of Mexico. He was born in Paris, October 17, 1690, and died in Quebec, September 13, 1758. The tablet was unveiled on September 7, 1953.

The Quebec Fortification Walls, Quebec, P. Q. A considerable portion of these historic walls, exclusive of the Citadel and that part of the walls controlled by the City of Quebec, was taken over by the Department in 1950 in order that they may be maintained and preserved as a national historic site. Repair work on a large scale was carried out during the year.

Invention of the Telephone, near Brantford, Ont. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected at the Bell Homestead on Tutelo Heights to commemorate the invention of the telephone. Here at the home of his father on July 26, 1874, Alexander Graham Bell disclosed for the first time his conception of the principle of the telephone. From Brantford calls were made to Mount Pleasant on August 3, to the Bell Homestead on August 4, and to Paris, Ont., on August 10, 1876. The latter is now recognized as the world's first long distance call. The monument was unveiled under the auspices of the Brantford Board of Park Management and the Bell Telephone Company of Canada on September 12, 1953.

Honourable Arthur Sturgis Hardy, Mount Pleasant, Ont. A tablet was erected in the Mount Pleasant Senior School to the Honourable Arthur Sturgis Hardy, Provincial Secretary of Ontario, 1877-89, Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1889-96, and Premier and Attorney General of the Province, 1896-99. He was born at Mount Pleasant, December 14, 1837, and died in Toronto, June 13, 1901. The tablet was unveiled by his son, Senator A. C. Hardy of Brockville, on September 30, 1953.

John Wilson Bengough, Toronto, Ont. A tablet was placed in the William Lyon Mackenzie Homestead, 82 Bond Street, to John Wilson Bengough, cartoonist, journalist, poet and lecturer. He was the founder in 1873 and Editor to 1892 of the humorous weekly "Grip". He was born in Toronto, April 5, 1851, and died there October 2, 1923. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Homestead Trustees on November 6, 1953.

Peter McArthur, near Appin, Ont. A tablet affixed to an iron standard was erected in a small road-side park adjacent to Highway No. 2, to Peter McArthur, journalist, poet, essayist and author of "In Pastures Green" and other works. He was born March 10, 1866, on a farm near Appin, and died in London, October 28, 1924. The un-

veiling ceremony was held at the McArthur Homestead on October 24, 1953.

James Jerome Hill, Rockwood, Ont. A tablet was affixed to the outer wall of the Township Office building to James Jerome Hill, pioneer railway promoter and builder in Canada and the United States. He was born on a farm near Rockwood, September 16, 1838, and died in St. Paul, Minn., U. S. A., May 29, 1916.

Dollier-Galinee Memorial Cross, Port Dover, Ont. In 1922 the Department erected a monument in the form of a stone cross near the spot where in March 1670 Dollier and Galinee erected a wooden cross with the Arms of France, claiming sovereignty in the name of King Louis XIV over a large part of the Lake Erie region. In view of the difficulty of access, the monument was dismantled and with the co-operation of the Provincial Department of Highways it has been re-erected on a commanding site at the junction of Highway No. 6 and Brown Street, where it overlooks the town.

Champlain's Astrolabe, about three miles east of Cobden, Ont. In 1951 the Department erected a cut-stone monument with tablet adjacent to Highway No. 17, to commemorate the finding in that vicinity of an astrolabe believed to have been lost by Samuel Champlain about June 7, 1613, when on his exploratory expedition up the Ottawa River. A small bronze tablet showing the astrolabe in relief was affixed to the monument during the year.

James Bruce, Ottawa, Ont. A brass plate was affixed to the base of the bust, in the Lord Elgin Hotel, of James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin, 12th Earl of Kincardine, K.T., G.C.B., Governor General of British North America, 1847-1854. The inscription on the plate records that the bust of James Bruce and that of his wife were presented in 1939 by their grandson, Edward James, 10th Earl of Elgin and 14th Earl of Kincardine, K.T., to the Canadian Government through the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada.

Honourable Robert Baldwin, Toronto, Ont. A tablet was erected in the Parliament Buildings to the Honourable Robert Baldwin, champion of responsible government, joint premier of Canada, 1848-51, and founder of Ontario's municipal system. He was born in York, U. C., May 12, 1804, and died in Toronto, December 9, 1858. The tablet was unveiled in the presence of a large audience, including 30 descendants of Robert Baldwin, by the Prime Minister of Ontario, the Honourable Leslie Frost, and the Leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Farquhar Oliver, on March 31, 1954.

Bishop George Exton Lloyd, Lloydminster, Sask. A cairn with tablet was erected to Bishop George Exton Lloyd who, in 1903, led a party of more than 1,400 colonists from the British Isles, since known as "the Barr Colonists" on an overland trek by horses and ox-drawn wagons from Saskatoon to the site of Lloydminster. At the end of their adventurous journey the colonists settled 56 townships in the district and founded the town of Lloydminster, naming it after their leader. Bishop Lloyd was Chaplain to the Queen's Own Rifles, 1885; Rector of Rothesay, N. B., 1890; Rector of Lloydminster, 1903-09; Principal of Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, 1909-16; and Bishop of Saskatchewan 1922-31. He was born in London, England,

January 6, 1861, and died in Esquimalt, B. C., December 15, 1940. The monument was unveiled by the Hon. James G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, during the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the town, July 19 - 21, 1953.

Peter Pond, near Prince Albert, Sask. A cairn with tablet was erected on the north bank of the Saskatchewan River, about four miles west of Prince Albert, to mark the place where in 1776 Peter Pond, explorer and fur trader, built his first trading post. He was one of the founders of the North West Company and served with the Company until 1790. He opened the North Saskatchewan River and Athabaskan districts, kept a journal and made the first general map of the area. He was born in Milford, Conn., U. S. A., in 1740 and died there in 1807.

Viscount Richard Bedford Bennett, Calgary, Alta. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in Central Memorial Park to Viscount Richard Bedford Bennett. The information on the tablet is the same as that on the tablet to Viscount Bennett at Hopewell Cape, N. B., which is referred to earlier in this report. The monument at Calgary was unveiled by the Hon. John James Bowlen, Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, on August 16, 1953.

The Boat Encampment, Big Bend Highway, B. C. A cairn with tablet was erected adjacent to the northern tip of the Big Bend Highway, about two miles west of the bridge crossing the Columbia River, to mark the site of the Boat Encampment, a point of trans-shipment in fur-trading days. Here boats from Fort Vancouver (now Vancouver, Washington), on the lower Columbia, waited for pack trains coming over the mountains from Jasper House. This point was first visited by David Thompson in 1811 and was for almost half a century a meeting place for the fur brigades of the North West Company and, later, of the Hudson's Bay Company. By-passed by the railways, this historic spot was made accessible to visitors by the completion of the Big Bend Highway in June, 1940. The monument was unveiled under the auspices of the Golden Board of Trade on September 6, 1953.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association

The Canadian Historical Association held its thirty-third Annual Meeting at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, on June 2-5, 1954. The occasion marked the second visit of the Association to Winnipeg, the first meeting to be held there having been in 1928. It is gratifying to note that a large group of members took advantage of the central location of Winnipeg to attend what was one of the most successful programmes which the Association has presented in recent years. A feature of the meeting was a tour of historic sites in the Winnipeg area, sponsored by the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, which ended at Lower Fort Garry, where tea was served. Professor Richard Glover was chairman of the committee in charge of local arrangements and his committee deserves the warm thanks of all members of the Association for their efforts.

The opening session of the 1954 meeting was devoted to Canadian history and comprised two papers: "Canadian Nationalism — Immature or Obsolete?" by J. M. S. Careless and "Frontenac: New Light and a Reappraisal", by W. J. Eccles. The presidential addresses of the Association and the Canadian Political Science Association were given on the evening of June 3, when M. H. Long, the Association's President, gave an illustrated address on "The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada", and Alexander Brady, President of the Canadian Political Science Association, spoke on "A Governing Class and Democracy". On June 4 a morning session on the history of western Canada was held in Beaver Hall, at the Hudson's Bay Company's store in Winnipeg. Here the following papers were delivered: "Crossing the Prairies Two Centuries Ago", by Clifford P. Wilson; "Le Roi du Nord et sa suite française à Winnipeg", by L. Lamontagne; and "English Missionary Records and the History of the Canadian West", by L. G. Thomas. The Association was afterwards tendered a luncheon by the Hudson's Bay Company. In the afternoon a session on medieval history was held and featured papers by T. J. Oleson, "The Vikings in America; some Problems and Recent Literature"; and G. B. Flahiff, "Twelfth Century Critics and Humanists". In the evening the Association was joined by many of the societies meeting in Winnipeg to hear the Honourable L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs and a distinguished member of the Association, speak on "Some Thoughts on Canadian External Relations". Professor Long acted as chairman for this meeting. The General Meeting of the Association was held on the morning of June 5 to conclude the proceedings. At this gathering votes of thanks were passed to a large number of individuals and groups in Winnipeg who had contributed to the success of the meeting.

New officers for the Association were named for the year 1954-55: *President*, J. J. Talman; *Vice-President*, G. F. G. Stanley; *English Language Secretary*, D. M. L. Farr; *French Language Secretary*, A.

Roy; *Treasurer*, W. G. Ormsby; *Editor of the Annual Report*, P. G. Cornell; *Associate Editors of the Annual Report*, Rév. Adrien Pouliot, S.J., and John S. Moir. The following persons were appointed to Council, to retire in 1957: George Buxton of Ottawa, Rév. A. d'Eschambault of Genthon, Man., R. S. Longley of Wolfville, and L. G. Thomas of Edmonton. J. B. Conacher was named chairman of the committee on local arrangements for the 1955 meeting in Toronto.

It will be generally agreed that the past year has been a satisfactory one for the Association. Membership stands at a record total of 675 and much of this increase can be attributed to the effect of the Historical Booklets series in making the aims and work of the Association better known. The Booklet series was launched in December, 1953, with Col. C. P. Stacey's pamphlet on *The Undefended Border, The Myth and the Reality*, which was followed by the second booklet, *Louis Riel, Patriot or Rebel?* by G. F. G. Stanley, distributed in February, 1954. The third booklet, that by Guy Frégault, *La Société Canadienne sous le Régime Français*, appeared in June, 1954. Booklets No. 2 and 3 were translated in order to ensure a wider distribution. It can be reported that in the issuance of these five booklets (including the translations) the Association has been able to show a modest profit which, in the early stages of the venture, is a very heartening sign. The booklets have been well received, not only in the Canadian press, but among scholars and in the general community, and have certainly provided sound and impartial treatments of certain significant topics in Canadian history. Further numbers in the series are planned, and it is expected that they will maintain the high standards set by the early booklets.

In addition to the publication of the Booklet series, the Association has distributed a memorandum on the cataloguing of small historical collections, written by Miss N. Story of the Public Archives, to almost 200 local history societies (French and English) in Canada. It has advised on the publication of a new historical atlas of Canada, sought the preservation of certain historic sites in the Ottawa area, discussed matters of concern to Canadian archivists through its Archives Committee, and assisted in the furtherance of an efficient records policy through its representation on the Canadian Government's Public Records Committee. There is no doubt that the range of the Association's activities is increasing from year to year, which is surely an accurate indication of the society's vigour and of its success in filling a useful and necessary place in the Canadian community.

—D. M. L. FARR.

Ottawa
October, 1954.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER RAPPORT DU TRESORIER

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1954.

CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand and in Bank May 1, 1953.....		\$ 579.56
Bank Interest	12.46	
Membership Fees.....	3,323.55	
Sale of Reports.....	52.50	
Printing of Historic Sites and Monuments		
Board's Report in Annual Report.....	73.10	3,461.61
		<u>\$4,041.17</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Canadian Passenger Association.....	3.00		
Audit Fee	15.00		
Exchange	39.65		
Less Exchange added to cheques received.....	39.07	.58	
Bank Service Charge.....	.40		
Discount on U. S. Funds.....	9.69		
University of Toronto Press:			
Canadian Historical Review.....	794.65		
Tribune Press:			
Printing of Report.....	886.60		
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.....	139.50		
Administration:			
Clerical Assistance.....	100.00		
Leclerc Printers.....	160.60		
Postage, Stencils and Telegrams, etc.....	199.39	459.99	\$2,309.41
Cash on hand and in the Bank April 30, 1954			1,731.76
			<u>\$4,041.17</u>

TRAVELLING ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank May 1st, 1953.....		\$ 359.03
Grant from Ontario.....	150.00	
Grant from Manitoba.....	200.00	
Bank Interest.....	3.66	353.66
		<u>\$712.69</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Grants to Members for 1953 Meeting.....	231.00	
Balance in Bank April 30, 1954.....	481.69	<u>712.69</u>

REPORT OF TREASURER

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RESERVE ACCOUNT

Balance May 1st 1953:

In Bank.....	894.75	
Dominion of Canada Bonds.....	1,508.12	\$ 2,402.87

Receipts:

Bank Interest	12.72	
Bond Interest.....	45.00	57.72
Life Membership Fees.....		65.00
Sale of Booklets.....		852.00
Sale of Index		4.50
Grant from Quebec Provincial Secretary.....	250.00	1,229.22
		<u>\$3,632.09</u>

Disbursements:

Booklets:		
Authors	100.00	
Printing	459.96	
Envelopes	45.85	
Postage and Express	46.70	652.51
Exchange		1.60
		<u>654.11</u>

Balance April 30, 1954:

In Bank.....		1,469.86	
Dominion of Canada Bonds:			
\$ 500.00 3% due 1963 at cost.....	500.00		
1,000.00 3% due 1966 at cost.....	1,008.12	1,508.12	2,977.98
			<u>\$3,632.09</u>

Examined with the books and vouchers
and found correct.

CHARLES W. PEARCE

Certified Public Accountant.

Ottawa, May 15th, 1954.

WILLIAM G. ORMSBY
Treasurer.

PERSONAL NOTES PERSONNELLES

A l'Université Laval *M. l'abbé Arthur Maheux*, premier directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire et de Géographie, a été nommé professeur émérite de la Faculté des Lettres. Lui a succédé à la direction de l'Institut, *M. Marcel Trudel*, professeur d'Histoire du Canada et secrétaire de la Faculté. Bénéficiaire d'une bourse d'études de la Fondation John Simon Guggenheim, pour recherches en vue d'une édition critique des Price Papers (manuscripts de la compagnie d'exploitation forestière Price Brothers, de Québec), *M. l'abbé Maheux* publiera bientôt une *Histoire de la Compagnie Price Brothers, de 1810 à 1954*. L'archiviste du Séminaire de Québec est aussi heureux d'annoncer que les quarante-quatre volumes des deux "Saberdaches" de Jacques Viger ont été microfilmés par l'Université Laval et qu'on en trouvera une pellicule positive aux Archives du Canada, aux Archives de la Province de Québec, à la Bibliothèque municipale de la Cité de Montréal et à l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick. Toutes les archives du Séminaire de Québec seront microfilmées au fur et à mesure de leur classement définitif.—Réelu pour un neuvième terme président général de la Société des Écrivains et président de l'Institut canadien, *M. Jean Bruchési* s'est vu également confier la présidence du Conseil international de l'Union culturelle française et, par notre Société, la charge de membre-correspondant de l'Institut d'Histoire et de Géographie de l'Uruguay. Comme président de la Société Royale du Canada, il a accompli, au cours de l'année, une tournée de conférences dans les universités de l'Ouest canadien ainsi que dans les principaux centres canadiens-français de cette partie du pays. L'Université Laval lui a décerné un doctorat ès lettres "honoris causa". Son bel ouvrage, *Canada, réalités d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, édité par la Librairie Beauchemin (Montreal), a atteint son 12ème millier d'exemplaires.—*M. le Chanoine Victor Tremblay*, à titre de président général de la Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique, a dirigé la réunion des deux sections de cette association au Cap-de-la-Madeleine. *M. Antoine Roy* sera le président de la section française pour 1954-1955. Au Congrès mariologique international qui s'est tenu à l'Athénée pontifical du Latran, à Rome, en octobre 1954, le *R. P. Conrad Morin* a présenté une étude sur "la première Association des Filles de Marie-Immaculée au Canada".

Nos sociétés historiques régionales affiliées manifestent de la vitalité. Outre des conférences publiques mensuelles et des émissions radiophoniques hebdomadaires, la *Société historique de Québec*, dont le président actuel est *M. Gérard Morisset*, a publié son sixième Cahier d'Histoire: *La Censive Notre-Dame de Québec*, oeuvre de son secrétaire, *M. l'abbé Honorius Provost*. Elle continue aussi avec espoir et patience la recherche méthodique du tombeau de Samuel de Champlain, dans le sous-sol de l'ancienne "réserve d'Ailleboust", le quadrilatère formé par les rues Buade, du Fort, Sainte-Anne et du Trésor. Derrière la Vieille Maison des Jésuites, à Sillery, sur les indications documentaires fournies par le *R. P. Adrien Pouliot*, second vice-président de la Société, l'archéologue Wilfrid Jury a mis à nu une section de cent pieds des fondations du mur d'enceinte à quatre tourelles bâti en 1650. Le

28 juin, le P. Pouliot rassemblait sur un autre site historique, à l'Île d'Orléans, les six cents Indiens venus de tout le Canada participer au Pèlerinage national des Indiens au sanctuaire du Cap-de-la-Madeleine. En présence de Son Excellence Mgr Maurice Roy, on y commémorait le troisième centenaire de la première Congrégation mariale d'adultes en Amérique du Nord, établie parmi les Hurons chrétiens en 1653-1654. —La Société historique de Kamouraska est devenue, pour mieux indiquer son champ d'action, la *Société historique de la Côte-du-Sud*. La Côte-du-Sud est la vieille dénomination du territoire qui borde le fleuve Saint-Laurent, de Montmagny à Rivière-du-Loup. Le siège social de la Société demeure au Collège de Saint-Anne-de-la-Pocatière. Elle tient des séances publiques mensuelles et publiait, en avril 1954, son sixième Bulletin.—A Sudbury, sous la direction du R. P. Lorenzo Cadieux, professeur au Collège du Sacré-Coeur, la *Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario* procure à la population, pour la troisième année, l'avantage de Cours publics d'histoire du Canada. Son dernier "Document historique" (le vingt-septième) a pour titre: *Un héros du lac Supérieur: Frédéric Baraga*.—On nous permettra enfin de mentionner que lors de son assemblée annuelle, tenue à Madison, Wis., en septembre 1954, l'*American Association for State and Local History* a inscrit en tête de liste l'*Ontario Historical Society* (pour les groupements provinciaux), la *Société historique de Québec* et la *Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario* (pour les groupements régionaux) dans l'attribution, en Amérique du Nord, de quarante-sept "awards of merit to recognize an outstanding achievement by individuals, societies or local organizations, in the field of State and Local History."

As in previous years, the Editors feel that they may not be doing justice to all members of the Association in these personal notes. Presented here are the gleanings from correspondence and enquiry. Col. C. P. Stacey, a Past President, was elected Honorary Corresponding Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, and Dr. R. S. Longley was elected a Fellow of that Society. Professor F. H. Soward was elected for a three year term to the Council of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Society. Dr. W. N. Sage, retired Head of the Department of History at U. B. C., continued for a second year as special lecturer, and was made an Honorary Life Member of the British Columbia Historical Association, and Dr. Margaret Ormsby was elected a Life Member of the Okanagan Historical Society. The American Association for State and Local History has honoured four societies affiliated with the Association with their Award of Merit: the *Ontario Historical Society*, la *Société Historique de Québec*, la *Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario* and the *Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty*.

Two promotions within faculties of history were reported. Dr. J. M. S. Careless at Toronto, and F. Donald Blackley at Alberta became Associate Professors.

Professor D. J. McDougall (Toronto), Dr. J. H. S. Reid (United College) and T. S. Webster (Manitoba) have gone on leaves of absence to study abroad, in England, France, and Chicago and Paris respectively. Dr. James A. Gibson, Dean of Arts and Sciences, Carleton College, and Professor W. L. Morton, Head of the Department

of History at Manitoba, have returned from study abroad, on leave of absence. *Dr. R. A. Preston* has returned from visiting service educational establishments in England, France, Belgium and Holland and attending the Anglo-American Historical Conference in London. *Professor William R. Willoughby*, of St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y., has been granted a year's membership in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., to enable him to complete a study of "The Politics of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project".

A number of new appointments in history faculties, archival staffs and administrative posts have occurred during the year. *A. J. H. Richardson*, for some years head of the Map Division of the Public Archives, Ottawa, was, late in the year, appointed Superintendent of Historic Parks and Sites for the National Parks Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. *Kenneth A. MacKirdy* has been appointed Assistant Professor of History at Queen's under the R. S. MacLaughlin Trust Fund for the session 1954-5, and *Dr. John S. Moir* has also been appointed at Queen's, as Head of the Government Documents Division of the Douglas Library for the year 1954-5. *The Rev. T. J. Hanrahan, C.S.B.*, has joined the History staff at U. B. C. *John E. MacNabb*, former John W. Dafoe Fellow in Canadian-American Relations, has been appointed instructor at Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa. *H. Blair Neatby* is Instructor in History at Prince of Wales College; *Dr. Eugene Weber* and *Norman P. Zacour* have been appointed Lecturers in History at Alberta and United College respectively. *J. T. Saywell*, a graduate of U. B. C., doing doctoral work at Harvard, is at Toronto during the leave of absence of Professor McDougall, while *W. J. Eccles* is replacing *T. S. Webster* at Manitoba during the latter's leave of absence. *D. R. Reynolds* (M.A., Toronto) and *J. P. Heisler* (from Prince of Wales College) have joined the staff of the Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives.

As the finishing touches were being added to these notes two final items seemed to be appropriate. The fourth booklet in the Association's series, by Professor W. S. MacNutt of the University of New Brunswick, has been produced under the title "The Making of the Maritime Provinces, 1713-1784". Finally, the Editor owes an apology to the Members for the lateness of publication of this *Report*. The experience gained in these last months should ensure its appearance much earlier next year.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES — SOCIÉTÉS AFFILIÉES

- American Antiquarian Society*, Salisbury St. & Park Ave., Worcester 5, Mass., U.S.A.
American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th St., New York, 32, N. Y., U.S.A.
Antiquarian & Numismatic Society of Montreal, Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal.
British Columbia Historical Association, Provincial Archives, Victoria.
Essex County Historical Association, Neil F. Morrison, President, 1112 Chilver Road, Windsor, Ont.
Finnish Canadian Historical Society, Mrs. A. W. Este, Asst. Secretary, P.O. Box 245, Sudbury, Ont.
Kamloops Museum Association, Seymour St., Kamloops, B. C.
Kingston Historical Society, R. A. Preston, Secretary, Royal Military College, Kingston.
La Société Historique de la Côte-du-Sud, M. l'abbé Léon Bélanger, secrétaire, Collège de Sainte-Anne, Sainte-Anne.
La Société Historique de la Côte Nord, Mgr René Belanger, président, Hauterive, Saguenay, P. Q.
La Société Historique de Montréal, Mlle G. Carrière, secrétaire, 1210 est rue Sherbrooke, Montréal, 24.
La Société Historique de Québec, M. l'abbé Honorius Provost, secrétaire, Université Laval, Québec.
La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, R. P. Lorengo Cadieux, Collège du Sacré-Coeur, Sudbury, Ont.
La Société Historique du Saguenay, Séminaire de Chicoutimi, C.P. 203, Chicoutimi, P. Q.
La Société Historique Franco-Américaine, M. l'abbé Adrien Verette, président, Suncook, N. H., U. S. A.
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, G. O. Bridge, Treasurer, Box 399, Quebec.
Lincoln Historical Society, Miss Kathleen Duff, Secretary, 52½ Thomas St., St. Catharines, Ont.
MacNab Historical Association, Miss Hilda Ridley, Secretary, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ont.
Nova Scotia Historical Society, G. T. Miller, Treasurer, 128 Edward St., Halifax.
Okanagan Historical Society, W. R. Pepper, Treasurer, 2503 24th St., Vernon, B. C.
Ontario Historical Society, J. C. Boylen, Secretary, 206 Huron St., Toronto.
Prince Albert Historical Society, Ian Collins, Secretary, City Hall, Prince Albert, Sask.
Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Ave., London, England.
Saanich Pioneers' Society, R. E. Nimmo, Secretary, Saanichton, B. C.
West Kootenay Section, British Columbia Historical Association, c/o Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, 300 Kootenay Avenue, Trail, B. C.
Wisconsin State Historical Society, C. L. Lord, Director, 816 State St., Madison 6, Wisconsin, U. S. A.
Women's Wentworth Historical Society, Mrs. J. A. Farmer, Treasurer, 87 Charlton Ave. W., Hamilton.
York Pioneer and Historical Society, W. E. Hanna, President, 182 Rosewell Ave., Toronto 12.

(B) AFFILIATED LIBRARIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

BIBLIOTHÈQUES ET AUTRES ORGANISATIONS AFFILIÉES

- Acadia University Library*, Wolfville, N. S.
American News Company, Inc., 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y., U. S. A.
Archives de la Province de Québec, La Bibliothèque, Parc des Champs de Bataille, Québec.
Assumption College, The Library, Windsor, Ont.
Bank of Canada, Research Dept., Ottawa.
Bank of Nova Scotia, The Library, Dept. of Economics, Toronto.
British Columbia Summer School of Education, The Library, Douglas Bldg., Victoria.
British Museum, Department of Printed Books, London W.C. 1, England.
Brown University Library, Providence 12, Rhode Island, U. S. A.
Bureau of Geology and Topography, The Library, National Museum, Ottawa.
Calgary Public Library, Calgary.
Carleton College Library, 268 First Avenue, Ottawa.
Clark University Library, 1 Downing St., Worcester 10, Mass., U. S. A.
Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Ave., N. E., Cleveland 14, Ohio, U. S. A.
Collège de Lévis, La Bibliothèque, Lévis, P. Q.
Collège de Montréal, 1931 rue Sherbrooke ouest, Montréal.
Collège de Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière, La Bibliothèque, Ste-Anne de la Pocatière, P. Q.
Collège Ste-Marie, Les Archives, 1180 rue Bleury, Montréal 2.
Columbia University Libraries, South Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y., U. S. A.
Dalhousie University, The Library, Halifax.
Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire, U. S. A.
Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Room 103, West Block, Ottawa.
Department of External Affairs, The Library, East Block, Ottawa.
Detroit Historical Museum, Dept. of Social History, Woodward at Kirby, Detroit 2, Mich., U. S. A.
Fraser Institute, Free Public Library, 637 Dorchester St. W., Montreal 2.
Hamilton Public Library, Hamilton.
Harvard College Library, Cambridge 38, Mass., U. S. A.
Historical Section, Army Headquarters, Ottawa.
Hudson's Bay Company, Canadian Committee Office, Winnipeg.
Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Zone 15, San Marino, Calif., U. S. A.
Indiana State Library, 140 N. Senate Ave., Zone 4, Indianapolis, Indiana, U. S. A.
Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London W. C. 1, England.
Johns Hopkins University, The Library, Baltimore 18, Maryland, U. S. A.
King's College, The Library, Strand, London W. C. 2, England.
Kitchener Public Library, Kitchener.
Legislative Library of New Brunswick, Fredericton.
Legislative Library of Ontario, Parliament Bldgs., Toronto 2.
Legislative Library of Saskatchewan, Room 234, Legislative Bldg., Regina.
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
Maison Bellarmin, 25 rue Jarry ouest, Montréal 14.
Maison Provinciale des Clercs de St-Viateur, 1145 avenue St-Viateur, Outremont, Montréal.
McGill University Library, 3459 McTavish St., Montreal.
McMaster University, The Library, Hamilton.
Midland Public Library, 224 Hugel Ave. W., Midland, Ont.
Ministère des Terres et Forêts, Hôtel du Gouvernement, Québec.
Mount Allison University, Memorial Library, Sackville, N. B.
National Film Board, 186 Middle St., Ottawa.
National Liberal Federation of Canada, 130 Queen St., Ottawa.
National Parks and Historic Sites, Dept. of Resources and Development, Norlite Bldg., Ottawa.
New York Public Library, Room 116, 476 5th Ave., New York 18, N. Y., U. S. A.

- New York State Library*, Albany 1, N. Y., U. S. A.
Ohio State University, University Library, Columbus 10, Ohio, U. S. A.
Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives, 14 Queen's Park Crescent W., Toronto 5.
Ottawa Public Library, Metcalfe St., Ottawa.
Peterborough Public Library, Peterborough.
Prince of Wales College, The Library, Charlottetown.
Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.
Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.
Provincial Library of Alberta, Parliament Bldgs., Edmonton.
Provincial Library of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
Public Archives of Canada, The Library, Ottawa.
Queen's University, The Library, Kingston.
Rhodes House Library, The Keeper, Oxford, England.
Royal Bank of Canada, The Library, Head Office, Montreal.
Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James Square, London, England.
St. Francis Xavier University, The Library, Antigonish, N. S.
St. George's School, 3954-56 29th Ave. W., Vancouver.
Saint John Free Public Library, Saint John.
St. Patrick's College, Head of Economics Dept., Ottawa.
St. Thomas Collegiate Institute, History Dept., St. Thomas, Ont.
Séminaire de Chicoutimi, la Bibliothèque, Chicoutimi.
Séminaire de St Hyacinthe, Casier Postal 577, St. Hyacinthe.
Séminaire de Ste-Thérèse, La Bibliothèque, Ste-Thérèse de Blainville, P. Q.
State College of Washington Library, Technical Service Division, Pullman, Wash., U. S. A.
Temple University, The Library, Periodicals Division, Philadelphia 22, Penn., U. S. A.
Toronto Public Library, Reference Division, College & St. George Sts., Toronto 2B.
United College, The Library, Winnipeg.
Université de Montréal, Bibliothèque Centrale, Boîte Postale 6128, Montréal.
Université de Saint-Joseph, la Bibliothèque, St-Joseph, N. B.
University of Alberta, The Library, Edmonton.
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